

"DUCIT AMOR PATRIÆ"

NIAGARA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

No. 25

209v

Laura Ingersoll Secord
Monument at
Lundy's Lane
Queenston in Early Years
Diary of a Prisoner in
Red River Rebellion

PRICE 25 CENTS

NIAGARA 1913
Times Print

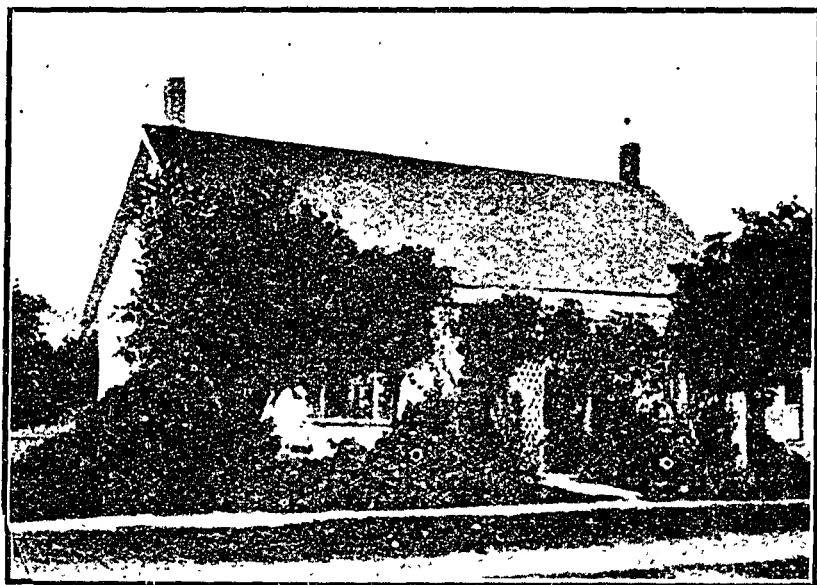
Preface

For the contents of our number 25 we are indebted chiefly to Mrs. E. J. Thompson and to Mrs. Bottomley, the former for gathering so carefully as she has done all the little personal items which are lacking in the accounts given and who worked so faithfully and successfully to obtain the monument—to Mrs. Bottomley for allowing the diary of her husband kept so carefully for many years, to be printed, which gives us a vivid picture of the life of the prisoners in Fort Garry. Since our last publication we have reprinted number 12, "The Taking of Fort George" and 15 "Sir Isaac Brock and Count de Puisaye" as many demands were made for these numbers. We have called our Catalogue, printed for us by the kindness of J. Ross Robertson, number 24, as many have bound it with the other publications.



LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD

This is believed to be the only picture of the heroine



HOME OF LAURA SECORD AT CHIPPAWA

LAURA INGERSOLL SECORD

By Mrs. E. J. Thompson.

As very little is known of Laura Secord beyond her walk to warn Lieut Fitzgibbon, I have tried to gather the various stories told of her at different times.

She was born at Great Barrington, Mass., on Sept. 13, 1775, the daughter of Col. Thomas Ingersoll and Elizabeth Dewey. There is no written record of her birth at the town of Great Barrington.

Col. Ingersoll had four sons and seven daughters. His first wife was Elizabeth Dewey, his last wife Sarah Whitney. Laura was the eldest of the family. Col. Ingersoll was not a United Empire Loyalist, as he served with the American forces during the Revolutionary War and after peace had been declared came to Canada at the invitation of Governor Simcoe (who had known him during his former residence in America). After remaining at Niagara for a short time he bought land in what is now Oxford county, and the town of Ingersoll is named from him.

So far I have not found the record of Laura Ingersoll's marriage to James Secord but in an address before the Pioneer and Historical Association of Ontario (page 17, annual report P. & H.A., 1895) in June, 1895, Mrs. S. A. Curzon says "I cannot close without quoting from a 'Directory for the County of Peel,' which I found in our (Toronto) Public Library:—I found among numerous items of settlement, County Court records and other matters, what I have long been looking for, how the heroic Laura Secord became acquainted, or rather, as I ought to put it, had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with her husband. She was an Ingersoll, a daughter of Mr. Thomas Ingersoll, who came thither from Massachusetts at the request of Gov. Simcoe. In the records of the Sessions commencing 14th July, 1812, is to be found the following:

"Jan. 16th, 1813, Charles Ingersoll, son of the late Thomas Ingersoll of the River Credit, applied to the Court to be al-

lowed, jointly with his mother, a tavern license for the Government House at the River Credit, stating that his father had kept said house for some years. Granted."

"The Secords, of whom there were several brothers, had mill and other property in the township of Etobicoke, as well as in Niagara and other parts of Canada, and thus it is easy to see how the meeting of the young people, James Secord and Laura Ingersoll, might happen."

Mrs. Currie has told the story of Laura Secord searching for her husband, who had been wounded at the Battle of Queenston Heights, and carrying him home.

After the battle Mrs. Secord, assisted by two other women (Maria Hill, wife of Sergeant Hill of one of the Regiments stationed at Queenston, and Mary Durham, afterwards Mrs. Swayzie), cooked food and made coffee for the troops, and attended to the wounded.

There is a story told by an old lady in Chippawa, who said Mrs. Secord had told her, that Maria Hill hid her baby (who was only six months old) in the middle of a pile of cordwood, so that she could go and help Mrs. Secord look after the wounded and take care of them until other help would come from Fort George.

Sergeant Secord of the Lincoln Militia had been shot in the hip, and when the inhabitants of Queenston had to move back into the country, Mrs. Secord was allowed to remain with him in their house, as it was impossible to move her husband without danger to his life.

In Mrs. Secord's household were two black servants called Pete and Floss. The American officers who were stationed at Queenston came as often as possible to the Secord house for their meals, and one night they had been very abusive to both the colored people, and Mrs. Secord had to wait on them herself; and it was while serving them with their supper that she heard Chapin (who was an officer in the American forces) speaking of the proposed scheme to attack our small force guarding supplies at De Cew's. Quickly she realized the importance of the information, and after talking it over with her husband, decided to warn FitzGibbon, who was in command. We have to remember that at this time the British had been defeated and the Americans were in possession of the Forts and villages along the Niagara frontier—the greater number of the inhabitants having retired back into the coun-

try, and the majority of the soldiers being with Harvey at Burlington Heights. Most of the ammunition and supplies for the army were at De Cew's, near the Beaver Dam, under the charge of Lieut. FitzGibbon, and if the Americans had destroyed these supplies, they would have cut off Upper Canada from the base of supplies in Lower Canada, and the country would then have very easily been taken by the invaders. Mrs. Secord decided to walk to St. Davids, two and a half miles away, and get her brother, Charles Ingersoll, to send word to FitzGibbon.

The next morning at break of day she put her little children into bed with their father, and bidding them good bye, started on her errand. On reaching St. Davids she found her brother very ill with fever and delirious, and as she could get no person to carry the news, decided to go herself; and as all the roads were in possession of the Americans — they having their pickets out for ten miles back from the frontier — she was obliged to go through what was then called the "Black Swamp," she had to walk about twenty-two miles. The Black Swamp at that time was the haunt of many wild animals. Several times Mrs. Secord could hear the wolves, which apparently were on her track; and until the day she died if a dog howled it always frightened her. She was about 38 years old at this time.

It may be interesting to know what Mrs. Secord wore on this occasion. From various sources I have had descriptions given me, and they all agree on the main points, and she herself used to show her grandchildren pieces of a brown cotton or print with a little pink polka dot, and she said these were pieces of the dress she wore when she walked from Queenston to De Cew's. She wore a cottage bonnet tied under her chin. She had balbriggan stockings, with red silk clocks on the side, and low shoes with buckles. She lost one shoe in the swamp and the other in crossing Twelve Mile Creek over a fallen tree.

She had left Queenston early in the morning, and the moon was shining when she arrived at the encampment where the Indians were under Colonel De Haran — and the Indians carried her to De Cew's house.

See Note 2, page 15, "Fight in the Beechwood-."

For a full account of the engagement at the Beaver Dams see Part II, page 110, of the 'Documentary History of the Campaign upon the Niagara

Frontier in the year 1813. Collected and edited for the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, by Lieut. Col. E. Cruikshank.

LAURA SECORD NARRATIVE

From the *Anglo American Magazine*, Vol. III, Toronto, 1853, No. 5, p. 467, the war of 1812, by Auchinleck, afterwards published in book form.

"I shall commence at the Battle of Queenston, where I was at the time the cannon balls were flying around me in every direction. I left the place during the engagement. After the battle I returned to Queenston and there found that my husband had been wounded, my house plundered and property destroyed. It was while the Americans had possession of the frontier that I learned the plans of the American commander and determined to put the British troops under FitzGibbon in possession of them, and if possible to save the British troops from capture or perhaps total destruction. In doing so I found I should have great difficulty in getting through the American guards, which were out ten miles in the country. Determined to persevere, I left early in the morning, walked nineteen miles in the month of June over a rough and difficult part of the country, when I came to a field belonging to a Mr. Decamp in the neighborhood of the Beaver Dam. By this time daylight had left me. Here I found all the Indians encamped; by moonlight the scene was terrifying and to those accustomed to such scenes might be considered grand. Upon advancing to the Indians they all arose and with some yells said, "Woman," which made me tremble. I cannot express the awful feeling it gave me, but I did not lose my presence of mind. I was determined to persevere. I went up to one of the chiefs, made him understand that I had great news for Capt. FitzGibbon and that he must let me pass to his camp or that he and his party would all be taken. The chief at first objected to let me pass, but finally consented, after some hesitation, to go with me and accompany me to FitzGibbon's station, which was at the Beaver Dam, where I had an interview with him. I then told him what I had come for and what I had heard — that the Americans intended to make an attack upon the troops under his command and would, from their superior numbers, capture them all. Benefiting by this information, Capt. FitzGibbon formed his plans accordingly and captured about five hundred American infantry, about fifty mounted dragoons, and a field piece or two was taken

from the enemy. I returned home next day exhausted and fatigued. I am now advanced in years, and when I look back I wonder how I could have gone through so much fatigue with the fortitude to accomplish it.

Dr. C. C. James found lately in the Church newspaper the following letter which contains the earliest known printed record of the event :

(To the Editor of the Church.)

Queenston, 11th April, 1845.

Sir—In the course of the late debate in the House of Assembly relative to the propriety of granting Colonel FitzGibbon one thousand pounds for his services in lieu of a grant of land, Mr. Aylwin said: "he strongly opposed the grant and gave as one reason that Colonel Fitzgibbon had monopolized honor that did not rightfully belong to him. He had received credit for the affair at Beaver Dam, whilst in point of fact the party to whom that credit was due was Major Delorimer, a relative of his own, and a native of Lower Canada; but instead of being rewarded for his services, Major Delorimer could not obtain the life of his son when he afterwards solicited it." Now I think it proper that Mr. Aylwin should be informed, and that the country in general should know, in what way Col. FitzGibbon achieved so much honor for the affair at the Beaver Dam. My mother living on the frontier during the whole of the late American war, a warm supporter of the British cause, frequently met with the American officers, and upon the occasion of the capture of the American troops at the Beaver Dam, after our troops—consisting of a small detachment under Col. FitzGibbon, then Lieut. FitzGibbon of the 49th Regt, and some Indians—had taken up their position at that place, overheard an American officer say to others of the officers, that they intended to surprise and capture the British troops at the Beaver Dam. Without waiting for further information, my mother, a lone woman, at once left her house to apprise the British troops of what she had heard, and travelled on foot the whole of the way, passing all the American guards, and many of the American scouts who were placed along the road, until she arrived at the Beaver Dam, and inquiring for the officer in command, was introduced to Lieut. Fitzgibbon as the officer in command. he then told him what she had come for, and all she had heard—that the Americans intended to make an

attack upon them, and would no doubt from their superior numbers capture them all. Col. FitzGibbon, in consequence of this information, prepared himself to meet the enemy, and soon after the attack being made, the American troops were captured and one or two field pieces taken, as the Colonel's certificate of my mother's services on that occasion, accompanying this communication, will show. It might, perhaps, be as well for me, while upon this subject, further to state, that I never heard my mother speak of Major Delorimer or any other officer being at the Beaver Dam at that time. Col. Fitzgibbon was the only officer who appeared to be in command to whom my mother gave the information, and who acted the part he so nobly did on that occasion.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

CHAS. B. SECORD.

(Certificate)

Toronto, 23rd February, 1857.

I do hereby certify that Mrs. Secord, the wife of James Secord of Chippawa, Esquire, did in the month of June, 1813, walk from her house in the village of St. Davids, to De Cew's house in Thorold, by a circuitous route of about twenty miles, partly through the woods, to acquaint me that the enemy intended to attempt by surprise to capture a detachment of the 49th Regt., then under my command, she having obtained such knowledge from good authority, as the event proved. Mrs. Secord was a person of slight and delicate frame, and made this effort in weather excessively warm, and I dreaded at the time that she might suffer in health in consequence of fatigue and anxiety, she having been exposed to danger from the enemy, through whose lines of communication she had to pass. The attempt was made on my detachment by the enemy and his detachment, consisting of upwards of 500 men with a field piece, and 50 dragoons, were captured in consequence. I write this certificate in a moment of much hurry, and from memory, and it is therefore thus brief.

(Signed)

JAMES FITZGIBBON,

Formerly Lieut. in the 49th Regt.

Resolution 143:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Committee that a sum not exceeding one thousand pounds currency, be granted to Her Majesty or Lt.-Col. FitzGibbon in lieu of the grant of

land recommended to be made to him by the Legislature of Upper Canada.

Yeas—38. Nays—24.

Mr. Aylwin opposed the motion.

I have referred very little to the historical side of this story, as that may be had in detail in Part 6 of Documentary History of the War of 1812, by Col. Cruikshank, published by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society (account of De Cew's and Beaver Dam) and in their publication the "Fight in the Beechwoods," also by Col. Cruikshank. Mrs. Curzon wrote the Drama of Laura Secord and a poem called "Laura Secord," published in 1898, as well as "The Story of Laura Secord," and Mrs. J. G. Currie wrote her book in 1898—"The Story of Laura Secord." The proceeds, after expenses were paid, of Mrs. Currie's book she has given to assist the erection of the monument at Queenston Heights.

Dr. Jakeway has also written a poem called "Laura Secord," and poems have been written by Charles Mair, and Miss Agnes Maule Machar of Kingston.

For many years after the War of 1812 the Loyal and Patriotic Society held banquets. They were held annually at Grimsby and once or twice at York, and at these banquets the toast to the King came first—then all silently stood up and drank to Gen. Brock, and then they drank a toast to Mrs. Secord—"One of the bravest."

Laura Secord was of a kindly disposition, always doing something to help others, and while I was collecting for the Monument, which we erected at Lundy's Lane, an old man came to see me one day at Canon Bull's house, and told me he had walked twenty-two miles to bring me a dollar towards the Monument. He said that when he was a boy in Chippawa, and very poor, he used to shovel snow for Mrs. Secord, and that she always had a hot breakfast for him, and that she knit the first pair of mitts he ever owned, so he had always wanted to do something for her memory, and when he heard I was at Niagara Falls he walked there. He would not tell me what his name was.

She was always very kind and thoughtful to children, giving them many little gifts, cakes and bread and butter, and a great many of the old soldiers, who had served with her husband, used to visit her in Chippawa. She always helped them

—not so much by what she gave as by her kind sympathy and thoughtfulness for them.

One day when I was collecting for the monument at Lundy's Lane, Mrs. McLeod, wife of the late rector of Chippawa, who had known Mrs. Secord very well, came to see Canon Bull; and we asked her how it was that James and Laura Secord were buried at Lundy's Lane instead of at Chippawa, and she said she remembered very well her husband coming home shortly before James Secord's death and saying that "Secord wanted to be buried on the battle field where all the good men who had fought in the War of 1812 'had left their bones,'" and that after his death Mrs. Laura Secord made Dr. McLeod promise that when she died she should be laid beside her husband.

Many questions have been asked as to why this daring deed of Mrs. Secord's was not recognized before 1860; but one must remember that after the war a great deal of bitter feeling prevailed along the border, and there were many cases of insult and injury to those who had taken any prominent part in the struggle.

One can understand a timid woman like Mrs. Secord dreading the insults of such people, and her anxiety to keep the part that she had taken to herself — although she always recognized that her walk had meant a great deal to the British officers, who were striving to protect such a large tract of country from the invading army, and with a very small force at their command.

The Secords remained at Queenston for some years after the war of 1812, until James Secord, receiving an appointment as Collector of Customs at Chippawa, they moved there some time in the 1820's.

The house in which Mrs. Secord lived is still standing at Chippawa, and it was there she died on October 17th, 1868, in her ninety-fourth year, and when I first visited the house the rooms were left very much as they were in Mrs. Secord's time. She was very fond of gardening and had beautiful flowers, many of which are still growing. On the day of the unveiling of the Monument at Lundy's Lane there was a large wreath of red and white roses from her own garden placed on the Monument by Mrs. Fessenden.

Capt. James Cummings of Chippawa always honored Laura Secord's birthday, — September 13th, by hoisting the

flag. Capt. Cummings had received Major Chapin's sword when he surrendered at Beaver Dams.

(See Vol. 7, page 179, Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records.)

People have suggested the removing of the remains of Mrs. Secord and her husband from Lundy's Lane; but from the first, Mrs. Curzon, and those of us who have worked for the erection of the Monument, were determined that their bones should not be disturbed, as they had been buried at Lundy's Lane at their own wish. The simple headstone, which was removed from Lundy's Lane, had been erected by subscription by many friends of Mrs. Secord at Chippawa, and after the erection of the Monument at Lundy's Lane, it was removed to Trinity Church, Chippawa, and permanently affixed in the walls of the vestibule.*

MARY — the eldest daughter — —married Dr. William Trumbull, Surgeon 37th Regt., March 18th, 1816, and when the regiment returned to England she went with him, and settled near Belfast, where her daughter Elizabeth married a Mr. Davis, and a son of Elizabeth Davis is a Doctor in the Indian army and in charge of a large hospital in Burmah. A daughter of Mrs. Davis married an officer in the Norwegian army and is now living in Norway.

Dr. Trumbull's second daughter, Mary, died unmarried.

ABELONIA and CHARLOTTE!—Daughters of Laura and James Secord, died unmarried.

CHARLES—was the only son and married Margaret Robbins of Kingston, and had two sons and a daughter.

His son James married a Miss Flint and had no children.

Charles Forsyth, the second son, baptized July 27th, 1824, by Rev. Wm. Leeming, was married and has left four children.

Alicia, the daughter, married Isaac Cockburn and is living in Winnipeg. There are no children.

HARRIET HOPKINS—Fourth daughter, Married William D. Smith of Guelph, and had two daughters and a son. Laura Louisa died some time ago.

William, a son, married in the States; and Augusta, who

*Although the papers frequently falsely record the death of a grandson of Laura Secord bearing the name, the only grandson, or rather great-grandsons of the name are the three sons of Charles Forsyth — one is a missionary in Guatemala, the other two are in Omaha. —Editor

was a teacher, died on Easter Sunday, 1911.

Mrs. Smith and her daughters lived with Laura Secord until her death, and then moved to Guelph.

LAURA—Fifth daughter. Married Capt. John Poore of Guelph on October 17, 1833. Rev. Robt Leeming performed the ceremony, and they had one son, Jno. Poore, living in St. Boniface, Man. Capt. Poore raised a regiment during the Rebellion of 1837 in Guelph, and took a prominent part in local affairs. She afterwards married Dr. William Clark of Guelph, and they had one daughter—Laura Clark—who is now living in Toronto.

HANNAH CARTWRIGHT—Sixth daughter. Married Howley Williams of Guelph, on August 22nd, 1833, at Queenston. They had two daughters:

Emma, who married John Lamprey, and had four children.

Caroline, who married C. W. Young of Cornwall. She secondly married Edward Carthew, and her eldest daughter is Mrs. Brock, wife of Dr. Brock of Guelph.

Morden Carthew of Listowel, Dr. Charles E. Carthew of Qu'Appelle, and William Carthew of Berlin, are the three sons.

I may quote two letters received from Miss Laura Louise Smith, who had lived many years with her grandmother in Chippawa.

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

I received your letter a few days since and thank you most kindly for the description of the monument to the memory of our dear good grandmother. I have a small photograph of her taken a short time before her death, but those taken from it have not been satisfactory; probably it might be useful to Miss Peel. None of her granddaughters resemble her at all. There are few living now who knew my dear grandmother personally.

Mr. Kirby has spoken truthfully of her. My grandmother was born on the 13th of September. I have confidence in this statement from a circumstance that I remember well.

It is such a gratification to us to know that the monument will be placed over the graves. I wish I could help you in this good work. Hoping to meet you at some future time, wishing you all the compliments of the season.

Yours sincerely,

LAURA LOUISE SMITH.

In another letter, dated Jan. 7th, 1901, Miss Smith says: "I received your letter, with enclosed circular, and think the inscription that is to be put on the monument good. I have no suggestion to offer.

I received the story of Laura Secord and others with the author's compliments (Mrs. Currie). Mrs. Curzon gave her book to my mother as a tribute to Laura Secord's memory."

Laura Secord Monument at Lundy's Lane

By Janet Carnochan.

To trace the evolution of the Laura Secord monument through all the different steps during several years, beginning with the care of the cemetery and battle-ground at Lundy's Lane, the collection of money for the monument, may be interesting to many, and that honour should be paid to those who took part in this work is the object of this article. To Mr. W. Fenwick, principal of the Grammar school at Drummondville, now Niagara Falls South, the first honour is due. In a letter, June 6th, 1887, to the *Toronto World and Mail* he called attention to the neglected state of the graveyard, to the need of a national monument for those who fell at Lundy's Lane in defence of their country, urging, too, that a monument should be erected in memory of Laura Secord. This drew out a longer letter from the late lamented Mrs. Curzon, who had been interested in the heroine, and was then writing the story of Laura Secord in prose, also in a ballad and a drama, and urging strongly that the women of Canada should take the matter up. In the *Dominion Illustrated*, Mrs. Curzon at a later date mentions that a petition signed by over one thousand persons had been presented to the Ontario Legislature by Mr. McCleary, the member for Welland, that a grant be given for a monument to Laura Secord. A petition had been presented before, but apparently there was no result of either. The next step taken was by Canon Bull, President of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1892, in a circular to the teachers of Public and High Schools in the Counties of Lincoln and Welland, asking that contributions be given by pupils and Canadian women. In the report of the Society for 1893 the Treasurer of the fund reported the results from schools and others as about \$100, and from different Historical Societies and Clubs about \$58 more was obtained. The matter was then taken up by the Ontario Historical Society, and a circular sent out signed by Mrs. E. J. Thompson, the Convener of the monument committee, she having promised

Mrs. Curzon before her death that the work so dear to the heart of Mrs. Curzon would be carried on. The work accomplished by Mrs. Thompson in the year 1899 (as shown in a scrap book, the property of the Ontario Historical Society, compiled by Mrs. Thompson) is enormous. Contributions of ten cents were accepted. It was asked that the women of Canada should each give that sum. In schools the children were asked to give one cent each. In the scrap book mentioned are newspaper cuttings, private letters, historical articles relating to the battle and the heroine, the advertisement for tenders, the meetings of Council to decide on the plans sent in, all the accounts of expenses,, the full list of subscriptions from one cent to \$10, \$25 and \$50, the description of each plan, the reasons for the choice, the proceedings of the O. H. S. Council, the description of the unveiling, all forming most interesting reading. When we think of the work of collecting nearly a thousand dollars, chiefly in small sums, of the letters written to regiments, societies and private individuals, of the visits paid, the travelling done, struggling with town and village councils, the business meetings attended, we may have some idea of the work accomplished by Mrs. Thompson.

The idea first was to raise \$1000., but when it was thought that that sum was in hand, owing to a misunderstanding, some wishing to place the monument at Queenston, it was found that only \$750 was available; it was determined to go on with the sum in hand. Advertisements for designs were printed and nine competitors sent in plans. That of Miss Mildred Peel, sister of the celebrated Paul Peel, and now Lady Ross, wife of Sir George Ross, was selected. It was felt to be peculiarly appropriate that the design for this monument to a woman should be the work of a woman, while the task of collecting money for it was also done principally by a woman. The design of Miss Peel, the sculptor, was a bronze bust on a square granite pedestal, the whole to be eight feet in height.

The next point was to decide on the inscription, and the members of the committee were asked to send in a form giving their idea of what the inscription should be. Dr. Coyné was asked to draw up a form uniting what was considered to be the best features of those sent in. As there have been some criticisms of the inscription it may be mentioned that the greatest care was taken. At a meeting of the committee criti-

cisms were asked for, and the form presented was gone over carefully line by line and word by word; discussed, alterations made, and the inscription now on the monument finally decided on. Dr. Coyne stated that he had combined the ideas and to a large extent the phraseology and had observed the following principles:

1st—To state nothing which is reasonably open to dispute.

2nd—To give due credit to all who shared in the victory.

3rd—To state the facts simply and clearly without comment.

4th—Further suggestions are invited and should be carefully considered.

The day fixed for the unveiling was 22nd June, 1901, and Mrs. G. W. Ross was asked to perform this office. A large concourse of 2000 people showed the interest taken in the proceedings. In the programme there was first an address of welcome by Rev. Canon Bull, addresses by Dr. James H. Coyne, Dr. Bryce, Hon. J. G. Currie, Hon. P. A. Porter, and many others, among them the Mayor, Warden and Reeve of the municipality. A sonnet was also read by Miss Carnochan, composed that morning:

"Too late, too late the bards have struck the lyre
To her, within whose breast the patriot fire
Beat high that morn in June—a noble dame
Long leagues her devious way she wound through mire
And lonely woods to warn of dangers dire.
And gained, although unsought, enduring fame.
Who knows not Laura Secord's honored name.
To save her country was her heart's desire.

A woman, wife and mother, tender, true
We meet to place above her dust today
This wreath of laurel ever to abide
Through all this century's lingering year long due.
We consecrate with happy tears, nay, nay,
We consecrate, we consecrate with pride."

The different steps taken in procuring the monument were given in order by Dr. Coyne thus: In 1887 Mr. M. Fenwick, in his school, collected the first money for a monument, and on 26th July wrote a letter to the Toronto papers. In the same year Mrs. Curzon replied and soon appeared her poem. In 1889 Col. Cruikshank gave a lecture on the Fight at the

Beech Woods, and describing the journey of Mrs. Secord. In 1891 Mrs. Curzon wrote the story of Laura Secord. In 1892 Canon Bull sent out a circular from the Lundy's Lane Historical Society to the schools of Lincoln and Welland asking contributions. In 1897 Mrs. Munro of Thorold wrote her recollections of the heroine's own story as told to her.

In 1898 the Ontario Historical Society took another step forward.

In 1899 a committee appointed, of which Mrs. Thompson was the convener.

In 1900 Mrs. Currie's story of Laura Secord was published.

In 1900 the design was accepted.

In 1901 the monument was unveiled.

In the speech of Mr. Coyne he said: "Among those who have written the story of Laura Secord there are on the platform, or near it, Col. Cruikshank, Mrs. Currie, Rev. Dr. Bryce, Mrs. Munro. Mrs. Curzon, alas! is no longer among the living. She would have rejoiced to be with us; but her daughter is here to share in our satisfaction over the final result of Mrs. Curzon's patriotic effort. As Mr. Fenwick, who initiated the monument in 1887, collected the first, so Mrs. Thompson, who is here, collected the last contribution to the fund. This monument will commemorate not only the heroine of 1813, but also the late Mrs. Curzon and not her alone, but Mr. Fenwick, Mrs. Thompson, and our venerable friend Canon Bull. The artist, Miss Mildred Peel, who, it is but just to say—actuated by a feeling of patriotism—has given the society and the committee at least double the value of the compensation she is to receive, is also with us."

In the money collected by Mrs. Thompson personally there are 250 names; of these ninety-three are ten cent offerings, and fifty-four twenty-five cents; so this will show in part what work was done. It had been decided not to apply to the government, but that the monument should be the work of the people. The lists show contributions from schools, Historical Societies, Regiments, county and town councils, clubs, and from places as distant as Winnipeg and Vancouver.

The inscription is:

"To perpetuate the name and fame of Laura Ingersoll Secord, who, on the 23d of June, 1813, walked alone nearly twenty miles by a circuitous, difficult and perilous route

through woods and swamps, ^{and} over miry roads, to warn a British outpost at De Cew's Falls of an intended attack, and thereby enabled Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, on the 24th June, 1913, with less than fifty men of Her Majesty's 49th Regiment, about 15 militiamen, and a ^{small} ~~similar~~ force of Six Nations and other Indians under Capt. William Johnson Kerr and Dominique Ducharme, to surprise and attack the enemy at Beechwood or Beaver Dams and after a short engagement to capture Col. Boerstler of the U. S. army and his entire force of 542 men, with two field pieces. This monument, erected by the Ontario Historical Society from contributions of schools, societies, Her Majesty's 49th Regiment, other militia organizations and private individuals, was unveiled 22nd of June, 1901."

Great disappointment was felt by the committee when the inscription arrived when it was found that mistakes had been made in the lettering. This caused much annoyance, as the bust had to be taken down, the pedestal sent back to London, the inscription removed and a corrected form engraved, the pedestal returned and with the bust replaced.

When a difference of opinion arose as to where the monument was to be placed, Queenston, Chippawa or Lundy's Lane—as the circular sent out by the Ontario Historical Society expressly said over the grave of Laura Secord—no other decision could be arrived at than to place it at Lundy's Lane. The whole sum collected by the O. H. S. was \$752; the sum spent, \$750. Several hundred dollars raised for a monument are still in the hands of Mrs. Dunn and the United Empire Loyalist Society.

The account given to Lossing and published in his Pictorial History of the War may be given. He had called on Mrs. Secord in 1860 at Chippawa, but did not find her. She wrote him, by request her recollection of the event:

"It was in Queenston I gained the secret plan to capture FitzGibbon and his party. I was determined, if possible, to save them. I had much difficulty in getting through the American guards. They were ten miles out in the country. When I came to a field belonging to a Mr. De Cew in the neighborhood of the Beaver Dams I then had walked nineteen miles. By that time daylight had left us. I yet had a swift stream of water (Twelve Mile Creek) to cross over on an old fallen tree, and to climb a high hill, which fatigued me very much.

Before I arrived at the encampment of the Indians, as I approached, they all arose with one of their war yells, which indeed awed me. You may imagine what my feelings were to behold so many savages. With forced courage I went to one of the chiefs, told him I had great news for his commander, and that he must take me to him or they would all be lost. He did not understand me, but said 'Woman! What does woman want here?' The scene by moonlight to some might have been grand, but to a weak woman certainly terrifying. With difficulty I got one of the chiefs to go with me to their commander. With the intelligence I gave him he formed his plans and saved his country."

Chippawa, U. C., Feb. 18th, 1861.

Mrs. Secord was at that time eighty-five years of age.

In the Niagara Mail of Aug. 8th, 1860, is a reference to Mrs. Secord although not by name:

"A Canadian Heroine."

"A respectable aged lady of this county, one of the old loyal stock, presented herself at the Clerk of the Peace office at Niagara last week to sign the address to H. R. II. the Prince of Wales along with the old soldiers of 1812. The clerk demurred to taking so novel a signature, although the lady insisted on her right, having done her country more signal service than half the soldiers and militiamen engaged in the war. We do not give the venerable lady's name, as she might not like the notoriety, but she is the same person who, etc." The article goes on to tell of her walk to Beaver Dams to give warning, and closes thus: "We say the brave, loyal old lady ought not only to be allowed to sign the address, but she deserves a special introduction to the Prince of Wales as a worthy example of the fire of 1812, when both men and women vied alike in their resolution to defend the country."

In a later paper it is mentioned that the Prince of Wales visited Laura Secord at Chippawa, and in the Mail of March 2nd 1861, it is recorded that a present of 100 pounds had been sent by the Prince to Mrs. Secord.

In the course of time, and as told to different people, the story of the walk has received many accretions, but the main facts agree. Whether there is any truth in the story of the milk pail, of the niece accompanying her part of the way, the meeting the local preacher who mounted her on his horse, we do not venture to say, but certainly there can be none in the

statement that she started with bare feet, however bare and bruised they might be when she reached shelter. I have talked with Mrs. Munro of Thorold, to whom Mrs. Secord told her story. That passing through mud and mire she might easily lose her low shoes, and that her feet were so swollen that her stockings could only be removed with difficulty is reasonable enough, but that the mother of a family well enough off to have such sterling silver tablespoons as we possess with the initials of J. L. S. (James and Laura Secord) is very unlikely. But the fact remains that the brave deed was done and that the purpose was accomplished, and today at Lundy's Lane and Queenston may be seen the monuments attesting her worth—"plain for all folk to see."

Queenston In Early Years

By Janet Carnochan.

(Read before the Woman's Institute, Queenston, and the Niagara Historical Society.)

In trying to give some desultory notes on the early days of Queenston—for in no sense do I attempt a history of Queenston—the first thought naturally, is the origin of the name, and I find two statements made—one that it was named from Queen Charlotte, wife of George III., the spelling in some early records being Queen's Town, written as two words, thus giving some authority for that statement; the other that it was named from the celebrated regiment of Col Simcoe, the Queen's Rangers. The early records all relate to the eastern side of the river. Daillon in 1626, La Salle in 1679. De Nonville in 1687, all refer to the right bank of the river as well as the portage road used by the Indians under the French from Lewiston to Fort Schlosser; the massacre at the Devil's Hole in 1763, and we have little mention of the spot now occupied by Queenston till the time of Simcoe in 1792, except with the name of Hon. Robert Hamilton, who, from documents found in the archives in Ottawa, must have come to Queenston in 1790, if not before, as he tells in a letter to the government in 1805 of erecting buildings fifteen years before at Queenston.

My sources of information are various—from early books of travel, John Ross Robertson's "Landmarks of Toronto" and "History of Free Masonry," and in the scrapbook of original documents in the possession of the Niagara Historical Society are several letters and documents referring to Queenston, the first written in 1801, the Elopement letter, which I shall read to you; the second something very different, the funeral expenses of Mrs. Hewitt in 1817 for liquor; the third the agreement made in 1824 between Wm. Lyon Mackenzie and

Hiram Leavenworth, who was to print the paper, the Colonial Advocate, all the provisos binding down each person seem singular to us now; the fourth the indenture of the apprenticeship of John Blake to David Thorburn, merchant, for four years in 1828. There is also a notice of the telegraph established from Queenston in 1848 and of the horse cars to Chippawa in 1841. One source of information, generally a very interesting one, is entirely lacking to me—that is local tradition, stories told by the earliest settlers to their children or grandchildren—such as I have striven to gather up relating to Niagara.

Since the Hon. R. Hamilton is the first name we meet with, it may be as well to give everything in which his history touches that of Queenston. He was the son of the Rev. John Hamilton of Dumfries, Scotland, and came out about 1770. In 1779 he was established as a trader on Carleton Island at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, where stores were brought from Montreal in bateaux for re-shipment for the west. In 1785 a Miss Powell, travelling from Montreal to Detroit, says: "We passed several days at the home of a Mr. Hamilton, a sensible, worthy man. Mrs. Hamilton is an amiable, sweet little woman. I regretted very much she did not live at Detroit instead of Niagara." This, of course, means Fort Niagara. Robt. Hamilton first married Catherine Askin of Detroit, widow of J. Robertson, and their eldest son was born at Fort Niagara, 1787. In 1789 Robt. Hamilton erected storehouses and wharves at Queenston, which was then called West Landing, and a road being laid out to Chippawa the goods were now sent by portage instead of from Lewiston to Ft. Schlosser. The name given was West Landing or Lower Landing, but Robt. Hamilton dates a letter of 1792 "The Landing now Queenston."

In early books of travel Hamilton is represented as entertaining all the distinguished and royal visitors. As it was said of Sir Walter Scott that he did the honors for all Scotland, so it may be said that Robt. Hamilton did the honors for Upper Canada. In 1792, July 30th, Mrs. Simcoe says in her diary: "We visited the Falls, stopped and breakfasted at Mr. Hamilton's, a merchant. He has a very good stone house, the back rooms looking on the river. A gallery the length of the house is a delightful covered walk, both below and above, in all weather." In 1791 Capt. Patrick Campbell was entertained at

the home of Robt. Hamilton. The site was that occupied by R. K. Noyse now. The Duke of Kent, in August, 1792, was entertained here at luncheon, we learn from the diary of Mrs. Simcoe as well as from the manuscript memoirs of Col. John Clark, who calls him "our greatest man next to Simcoe."

In a letter to Lord Dundas, Simcoe says: "The Queen's Rangers are huddled by great exertions at the Niagara Landing, now Queenston. Mr. Street, an inhabitant of the place, chose to dispute the right of land, but judgment was given in favor of the crown." In the archives at Ottawa is an estimate of the expense of building twenty-eight log houses for the Queen's Rangers at the West Landing. Each house was to be 24 x 10. Eight for the officers and three for a hospital, two mess and cooking houses, one for a bake house. The materials are all given—2000 logs of different sizes, 26 ft., 20 ft., 14 ft. long, 9 in. in diameter; boards, nails, shingles, lime, bricks, glass, putty, etc., the estimated cost being £938-1-10. Mrs. Simcoe, in 1793, made several sketches of the Rangers' huts at Queenston. One sketch shows eight, another 12 huts. There are four different points of view, some giving two or three larger buildings near, apparently storehouses. In a topographical description of U. C., issued in London in 1813, and revised by Gov. Gore, it says there are huts enough to receive a regiment. The Queen's Rangers were removed to York by Simcoe, where huts were built for them, as the situation at Queenston was thought unhealthy.

Simcoe appointed Robt. Hamilton Lieutenant of the County of Lincoln, a very important position, as Lincoln was then much larger than now. He was also a member of the Land Board, a member of the first Executive Council, and first Judge of the District of Nassau; afterwards a local Judge, having Col. John Butler as colleague, and is said to have owned 100,000 acres. Two cities owe their names to the Hamilton family—St. Catharines, named from the wife of the Hon. Robert Hamilton, who owned 500 acres there, and gave two acres of land for the first church "for the whole inhabitants"—in 1798. A document, dated January, 1810, calls the building erected at that date the "St. Catharines Church." Two sons, George and Peter Hunter, settled in what is now the city of Hamilton, and, like their father, gave land, one for a courthouse, the other for a school.

The Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt, who visited

Simcoe, writes that "in 1795 the buildings constructed three years ago consist of a tolerable inn, two or three good store-houses, a blockhouse of stone covered with iron, and barracks which should be occupied by the regiment of Gen. Simcoe, but which are now unoccupied, the regiment being quartered in another part of the country. Mr. Hamilton, an opulent merchant, who is concerned in the whole inland trade of this part of America, possesses in Queen's Town a very fine house, built in the English style, a distillery and a tan yard. The merchant bears an excellent character. He is a member of the Legislature of Upper Canada, but is at present in England." Dr. Canniff, in his history of Upper Canada, states that it is said he died leaving an estate worth £200,000.

Bishop Strachan, in his sketch of Cartwright, with whom Hamilton had been in partnership, describes the latter "as a gentleman of such varied information, engaging manners and princely hospitality so that his memory is gratefully remembered by thousands whom his magnanimous liberality rescued from famine." This must refer to what is called the Hungry Year—1789.

In John Ross Robertson's History of Free Masonry are some references to Queenston and lodge meetings held there, and at the home of Joseph Brown on the River Road. In 1782 there is an application of Joseph Brown for admission to No. 2 Lodge, and in 1787 also applications of James Cooper and Charles Field. There is evidence that there was a lodge at or near Queenston which became No. 2 in Niagara in 1792. In 1798 the Grand Lodge and another Lodge in Niagara walked to Wilson's Hotel, there to meet their brethren from Queenston and the mountain (Stamford), and after business sat down at Hind's Hotel to an elegant dinner; and we find also that the Hon. Robert Hamilton was Provincial Deputy Grand Master of No. 2 Lodge at Niagara in 1795-6 and 1798. The Upper Canada Gazette tells of a "St. Andrew's dinner in 1799 at which thirty Scottish gentlemen and twelve others sat down at the residence of Hon. R. Hamilton. No dinner given in Canada has been equal." In the Toronto Constellation, Nov. 23, 1799, appeared the following notice: "Married, at the seat of the Hon. R. Hamilton, at Queenston, on Sunday last, Mr. Thomas Dickson, merchant, to the amiable Mrs. Taylor, daughter of Capt. Wilkinson, commanding Fort Erie.

In a paper published in Niagara, then called Newark, in 1797, occurs a reference to Queenston, Jan. 25th: "As the inoculation for smallpox is this day commenced at Queenston, and the season of the year is favorable, the subscribers propose inoculating at Newark and in the County of Lincoln on most reasonable terms. The poor, gratis. Robt. Kerr, Jas. Muirhead."

Another matter of interest is that the Agricultural Society of Niagara sometimes held its annual fair at Queenston, as in the public prints we find: "In 1799 the annual fair at Queenston, 9th Nov. A park provided to shew the animals"; and in 1801, "Annual fair at Queenston, 14th Nov. Races, amusements, park for show of cattle." Showing the importance of Queenston in early days, in a letter printed in Philadelphia in 1795: "At the lower landing, Queenston, the vessels discharge their cargoes and take on furs brought from 300 to 1500 miles back. I have seen four vessels of 60 or 100 tons unloading at once, and 60 waggons loaded in a day for the upper landing at Chippawa Creek. This portage is a source of wealth to the farmers who carry from 20 to 30 hundredweight at 1s. 8d. N. Y. currency, per hundredweight, and load back with furs. Their goods they transfer to batteaux at Fort Erie and then shipped on vessels for Detroit and the west." In 1800 John Maude, the traveller, arrived at Queenston at Fairbank's Tavern. "Fourteen teams were at the wharf; teams drawn by two yokes of oxen; peltries or bales waiting to be loaded; also three schooners. A miserable dinner. Sent my introduction to Col. Hamilton, which procured me an invitation to supper, when the goodness of my supper made up for the badness of my dinner."

These tales of travellers who speak of the number of teams conveying goods to and from Queenston, bring up thoughts of Pontiac and the cruel deeds done in his capture of so many forts from the British in 1763. In the times of the French rule the furs coming from the west and the goods going there were carried on the backs of Indians over the carrying place, and this proved a source of revenue to them, as sometimes 200 Indians were thus employed, but under the British rule waggons were employed, and the Indians saw this source of income taken from them, which caused much discontent and was one reason to induce them to join Pontiac against the British, and thus we have the tragedy of the Devil's Hole

massacre, the carrying place being then on the opposite side of the river, when horses, goods and men were hurled over the bank by an Indian ambush, so that of nearly one hundred only two survived to tell the tale.

In 1805, D'Arcy Boulton, another traveller, says 60 waggons loaded every day from Queenston to Chippawa. John Mellish, in 1811, says Queenston has 300 people and six stores. G. A. Talbot gives the same population in 1824, and says there were 60 houses.

A letter from Mrs. Jennoway in 1814 gives the explanation of the earthworks on the heights, about which there has been so much discussion, some asserting they were the work of Indians, others of the French, and still others that they were thrown up by the Americans. All these statements are here shown to be wrong, and it is proved conclusively that the work was done by the British in 1814 and the batteries destroyed by them when the enemy, under General Brown, was advancing, previous to the battle of Lundy's Lane. The letter is dated "Hope Cottage, Fort George, 14th Sept. 1814," and goes on to state that the writer was told to join her husband on 6th June, who was at Queenston, having been ordered from Fort George to erect fortifications there. "Mr. Jennoway was left to command at Queenston and the fortifications he had constructed, but as our army had to retire after a hard battle, with only 1500 British to oppose 5000, Mr. Jennoway had to blow up the batteries and go to Fort George with his men and guns. Previous to that I had to make my retreat at 9 o'clock at night. My dear husband has now the entire command at Forts Mississauga and George of the Engineer Department. The former is a large new fort which he had the direction of at the commencement." Lieut. Jennoway belonged to the Royal Scots. This work at Queenston was called Fort Drummond. In the archives at Ottawa I found a letter from R. Hamilton & Co., 1805, referring to buildings which it was feared the government might destroy in case of war. He makes a very strong appeal against what he thinks injustice, saying that as early as 1789, when the evacuation of Fort Niagara was probable, he had obtained permission to erect wharves and storehouses at the West Landing, Chippawa and Fort Erie, has now carried on business for fifteen years, and now the stone buildings are to be seized and may be destroyed. They were erected at an expense of £4000, and this he protests against strongly.

In the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society we find the name of Hon. R. Hamilton in an entirely different connection, viz., procuring fruit trees, as in a letter, March 7th, 1794: "I have sent money to a friend in New York for fruit trees from a nursery in Long Island for an Agricultural Society established here." He urges that they be forwarded by the first boat to come to this place. The Agricultural Society referred to was that of Niagara, 1792. We find him also taking an interest in education, as partly through him Rev. John Strachan, afterwards Bishop Strachan, came out, as Hamilton wrote to a brother in Scotland to send out an able teacher. The celebrated Dr. Chalmers was approached, but declined, and he suggested his friend Strachan, who decided to come, and thus a long train of consequences from the advent of what may be called the "ecclesiastical statesman of Canada." It is thus seen that the name of Robert Hamilton occurs in many ways in the history of Canada, as the Lieutenant of the county, as an extensive land owner, as a Judge, as a successful trader, as a Free Mason high in rank, as one of the first to plant fruit trees; his sons as builders and owners of steamboats, as is shown by a painting in the Historical Building, given by Judge Hamilton of Kingston—the Queenston, built at Queenston in 1824, sailing to Prescott from Queenston.

Of another inhabitant of Queenston I found in a Niagara paper of Feb., 1847, an interesting notice. David Thorburn, M. P. P. "Presentation of a silver snuff box to Dr Thorburn, Warden. Graceful speech of Mr. Hamilton, who presented it." "For myself I can say that the conduct of the Warden has furnished me with many wholesome lessons of self-restraint, patience, good feeling, temper. In presenting this, Mr. Warden, I perform a duty highly pleasing to myself." In reply, the Warden said he would treasure it up as a family record worthy of preservation, and concluded, amid cheers, that he should recollect the saying, "A good name is better than precious ointment." The monument in Stamford Presbyterian graveyard of one who occupied many important positions as a leading merchant, a member of Parliament, Warden of the county for many years, has this very modest inscription: "David Thorburn, born in Roxburghshire, Scotland, died at Queenston, 1862, in his 73d year."

Another name flits across the page of the history of

Queenston, that of Robert Gourlay, the "Banished Briton," who for his persistency in attacking wrongs, after being confined in Niagara jail for six months, was ordered to leave the country in twentyfour hours on pain of death. To their honor be it told, the Hamilton family gave him shelter on the night of 20th Aug., 1819, and the next day he crossed the river. Returning after many years, he was kindly treated by different residents, as we see the names signed to petitions of David Secord, Thorburn, McMicking and Woodruff, and a book published by him has this inscription: "To David Thorburn, M. P. P., with Mr. Gourlay's compliments."

Of the battle of Queenston Heights a few words will suffice, as the story is so familiar and I am not acquainted with military technicalities. But still there are many misconceptions about it, many thinking that Brock won the battle. But there were really three engagements, when the Americans gained the heights in the early morning by the Fisherman's path, and drove down the small force there, Brock bravely but rashly, as we think with a few men, started to regain possession of the heights and was shot down. The second attempt was made by Col. Macdonell, at ten in the morning, and he, too, was mortally wounded; and it was not till the afternoon, when Gen. Sheaffe, with additional forces from Niagara and Chippawa, made a detour of the mountain and attacked the Americans on the other side that the battle was gained. In a little pamphlet by the Rev. J. Cooke, which he used to sell at the monument, some amusing incidents are told. The fine residence of Mr. Hamilton was burned on the day of the battle, being of course a conspicuous object.

Different stories are told as to where Brock's body was placed. A Buffalo paper lately had a picture of an old frame building in ruins, a story evidently told to a reporter to mislead, but the best authority is that the old stone building not far from Laura Secord's house was the place. Others speak of a building on the River Road, and it is quite likely that it was taken there for greater safety later on in the day. The first monument was erected in 1824 at the expense of the government, while the present one was by subscriptions of individuals, regiments, Indians, etc. The first monument was blown up with gunpowder, 17th April, 1840, which act caused great excitement, and an indignation meeting was held 30th July and thousands came, some from distant parts of Canada.

Ten steamers ascended the river, coming from Kingston, Cobourg, Hamilton and Toronto, H. M. S. Traveller bringing up the rear with the Governor and his suite on board and with the crowds on the bank, shouts and cheers were heard from ship to shore and shore to ship. A large pavilion had been erected, a dinner provided, for which 1000 tickets at the price of 7s. 6d. had been issued. Eleven resolutions were passed, and as the mover and seconder of each spoke it may be imagined that it was late in the day before the proceedings closed. Of those in this vicinity who spoke were David Thorburn, Wm. Woodruff, Col. McDougal, W. H. Merritt. A building committee was formed, and on Oct. 13th, 1853, the foundation stone was laid and the third grand funeral was held, although in reality Brock was four times buried, as in order to prepare the vault the body was for a year interred in the Hamilton family burying ground. A rather singular mistake in the inscription on the brass tablet at the door I discovered last year. On the tablet within the monument it is said that this monument is erected to replace one destroyed 17th April, 1840, and on the brass tablet at the door it is said to replace the monument destroyed in 1838. Is it not strange that this error has been allowed to remain all these years in "enduring brass"? The names of the committee in full, however, are all given, which perhaps was thought more important.

An amusing story is told of the erection of the first monument, that as usual copies of the newspapers of the day, along with coins, were placed under the foundation stone, and when Sir Peregrine Maitland discovered that a copy of William Lyon Mackenzie's paper, the Colonial Advocate, was among the number he ordered it to be taken out, which seems to us at this date a rather petty exercise of power. The printed post bill giving the order of procession, printed by Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, is in possession of our society, as well as a steel engraving of the first monument, and also the order of procession in 1853. Seven years after the latter date another ceremony took place, when our late Sovereign, Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, laid the foundation stone of the obelisk which marks the spot where Brock fell. Letters of Sir Allan McNab to Col. McDougal are in possession of our Society with rough sketches to show the spot, and many think that a mistake was made. An

interesting story was told on Queenston Heights one day to a group of Pilgrims by Hon. J. G. Currie. He remembered quite distinctly when a boy hearing the report when the monument was blown up, he living half way between Queenston and Niagara. He was also present at the indignation meeting, and tells a thrilling story of seeing "a young British tar from the Traveller start to climb hand over hand the lightning rod that stretched from bottom to top of the wrecked monument. It was a perilous undertaking, for one did not know when the shattered structure might give way or how much weight the rod would bear. The thousands who watched him reach the topmost gallery and swing himself over the projecting coping at the top held their breath in anxious suspense as the boy pulled a ball of twine from his pocket, let it down, with which he pulled up a heavier one with a Union Jack, and at last the flag was attached and filled out grandly to the breeze. Then a tremendous cheer rent the air. And before he reached the ground a hat was passed round and he received a reward for his bravery." A curious misstatement has been passed from one to another with regard to the paper published for one year (1824) in the old building, now in ruins, occupied by Wm. Lyon Mackenzie, that here the first paper published in Upper Canada was printed, whereas the first paper was published in Niagara thirty years before, the Upper Canada Gazette, April, 1793.

The telegraph form which we possess reads thus: "Niagara and Queenston Line. Communications strictly confidential," and a verse quoted: "He directeth it under the whole heaven and his lightnings unto the ends of the earth," the words of Elihu in addressing his friend Job. The pay sheet of the Erie and Ontario railroad is dated Queenston, 1841, and the word horse cars explains the mode of travel. The letter from W. D. Powell, a lawyer in Queenston and a member of the first Law Society in Upper Canada, formed 1797, is expressed in very polite terms. He was the son of Chief Justice Powell, and he writes to Col. Nelles of Grimsby, then called Forty Mile Creek. By reference to St. Mark's register I find he was married to Sarah Stevenson, and from St. George's cemetery and St. Mark's register I find that his wife survived him thirty years, as he only lived two years to enjoy the happiness of which he speaks. His thanks are extended to Col. Nelles and the sister of Mrs. Nelles for helping him in his elopement from Grimsby to Niagara to be mar-

ried by Rev. R. Addison. The other document gives the amount of liquor used at what presumably would be the wake of Mrs. Hewitt, kept up for three days, or nights rather, the prices of the liquors 12s. (three dollars) a quart in one case, 16s. (four dollars), seems to us high. The last item introduces a rather gruesome element, as the liquors and digging the grave are inextricably mixed—£3—but how much for liquors and how much for digging the grave is not specified.

Something should be said of the Suspension Bridge, as showing the enterprise of the inhabitants of Queenston, as we read that as early as August, 1836, the project of erecting a chain suspension bridge at Queenston was set on foot, the bridge to have the largest span of any in the world of the same kind, but this was evidently not then carried out; but in the Niagara Chronicle of 1849, 1850 and 1851 appear advertisements as to shareholders, opening of the bridge, etc. It has sometimes been asserted that the Queenston bridge was built before that at the Falls, but this is a misake, as the bridge at the latter place was opened in 1848 (the iron basket crossing was in 1847), while that at Queenston was formally opened in 1851. Page's County Atlas gives a wrong date, as also does the Encyclopedia Britannica. In the Niagara Mail, March 26th, 1851, is a heading "Queenston Suspension Bridge. The 19th was a gala day in Queenston on account of the opening of the new suspension bridge. An excellent dinner was provided by Mr. Wynn, after which speeches were made by Sir A. MacNab, G. McMicking, Judge Stowe, Hon. W. H. Merritt, Hon. F. Hincks, Geo. Boomer, etc. Previous to this the bridge was thrown open to the public. One hundred Sons of Temperance marched across, several carriages and vast numbers of pedestrians. The engineer was G. W. Sirrell."

An interesting item is told later, that in 1865 a gale of wind wrecked the bridge, the guys or stay cables having been injured in an ice jam, and deserters from Fort Niagara actually crawled at night over the remains to the Canadian shore. The advertisements to shareholders are signed by G. McMicken, Secretary and Treasurer, Q. S. B. Co. The cables hung uselessly till 1899, when the bridge was taken down and the present structure was built.

The people of Queenston have certainly witnessed more remarkable sights than those of many other places—processions, grand funerals, the placing of four remarkable monu-

ments, assemblages of thousands of eager participants, and last the centenary of the death of Brock in October, 1912, all following in succession the stern struggle on the Heights, 13th October, 1812; the victory but the sad procession following the dead General; another procession of American prisoners the same day; the procession up the Heights in 1824; the indignation meeting in 1840; the laying the corner stone in 1853; the cenotaph placed in 1860; the monument to Laura Secord in 1911, and the grand gathering on that beautiful October day in 1912 when wreaths were brought by Historical Societies, Regiments, Schools, Indians, Scottish Associations, even the distant Island of Guernsey being represented, all to do honor to the name of Sir Isaac Brock.

With all this nothing has been said of the well known name of Laura Ingersoll Secord, as in the present publication two articles refer to her. How little could she have dreamed during her residence here that her name would be so famous, that poems would be written in her honor, that two monuments would be erected in her praise (one by the people, another by the Government of Canada), that articles used by her would be treasured, that archives would be searched for information for her biography, that school children all over the world would be familiar with the name of Laura Ingersoll Secord. The memory of a deed nobly performed is immortal.

THE ELOPEMENT LETTTR.

Queenston, 28th July, 1801.

Dear Sir—

I should be unpardonable if I lost any time returning you the hearty thanks which are so justly due from me to you for your kind and friendly assistance in rendering me one of the most happy of men. After leaving your home on Friday night we had an uncommonly fatiguing ride to Runchey's and arrived at Niagara the following morning, where, by Mr. Addison's assistance, we were soon out of the fear of pursuit. Mrs. Powell joins with me in her profession of gratitude to yourself and Mrs. Nelles, and requests that you will take the trouble of assuring her sister, Ellen, of our love and obligations to her for the part she took in forwarding our escape. Believe me, dear sir, your obliged and obedient servant,

W. D. POWELL, JR.

Robt. Nelles, 40 Mile Creek.

MRS. HEWITT'S FUNERAL EXPENSES.

			S.	D.
1817	Oct. 26th	1 quart Madeira wine	12	0
	" "	1 quart spirits	8	0
	" "	1 quart brandy	12	0
	" "	1 quart shrub	8	0
	" 27th	1 quart Teneriffe wine	12	0
	" "	1 quart port wine, 26th	12	0
	" "	1 quart spirits	8	0
	" 28th	1 quart Madeira wine	12	0
	" "	1 quart Shrub	8	0
	" "	1 quart Teneriffe wine	12	0
	" "	1 quart port wine	12	0
	" "	1 quart brandy	12	0
	" "	1 quart spirits	8	0
	" "	1 pint gin	6	0
	" "	1 quart Madeira wine	16	0
	" "	1 pint gin	6	0
	" "	1 quart gin	12	0
	" "	1 pint Madeira wine	8	0
	" 29th	Cash for liquors at Queenston and digging the grave	3	0 0

The whole amounting to £12 4s.

Diary of a Prisoner in Red River Rebellion

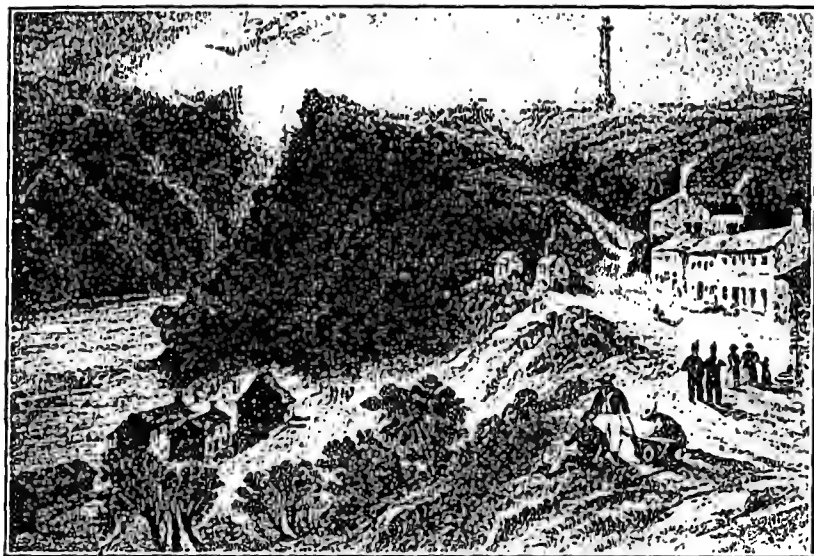
The diary of Mr. Henry Woodington, while a prisoner in Fort Garry, has been kindly placed in our hands by Mrs. Bottomley, one of our members. Having been carefully kept for over forty years it is now made public for the first time. The writing was very good, but being in lead pencil, and tightly tied up with other papers, had become somewhat blurred and a few of the names were rather indistinct. It was carefully copied, and almost verbatim, a few omissions where repetition occurred. It will be noticed that the word rebels is not used but a blank left, and also for the names of some of the associates of Riel, for the diary to be found on his person might have been dangerous. It is believed that Mr. Woodington was also to be executed, but his life was saved and he afterwards lived many years in Niagara.

EDITOR.

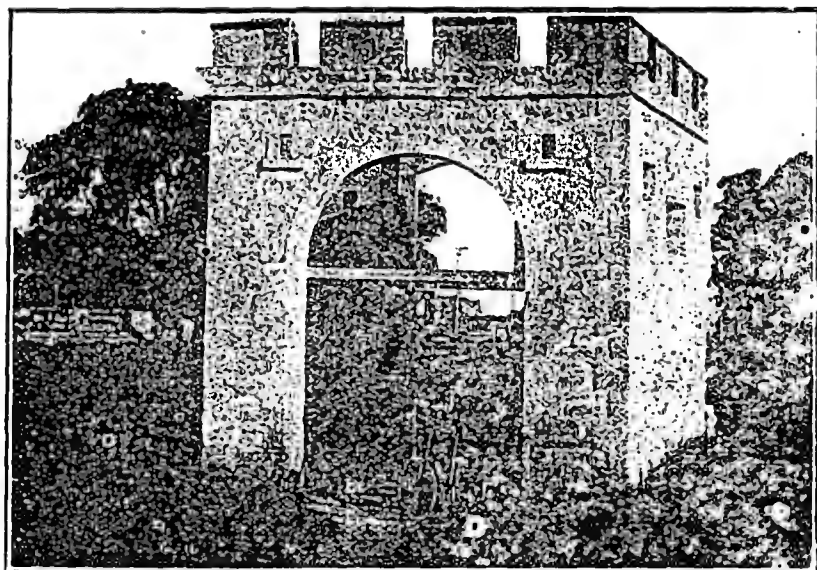
St. Cloud, 22nd Sept., 1869—Left for Red River Settlement this afternoon in company with the following gentlemen from Ontario, Canada, viz.: Daniel Cameron, Thomas Baxter, William Davis, James Develin, Hugh Watson and Matthew Davis. Camped out at 6 p. m. On 23d struck out early, all more or less stiff and footsore. In evening turned our oxen out to feed on the open prairie, but could not find them either in morning or evening, but they were brought back by two children on horseback riding bareback.

Diary 1869, Fort Garry.

Nov. 30th—Rumors were out today that the Queen's Proclamation for annexing the North West Territory to the Dominion of Canada had been brought into the Settlement, but not known by whom. The rumor reaching Louis Riel, the Secretary of the French Provisional Government that the ——— had established at Fort Garry, also holding the position of Commander in Chief of the forces, he ordered a guard of ten or fifteen men to accompany him to the town of Winnipeg, where he seized the Not Western Office and placed the guard on it, for the purpose, as Riel said, to prevent the Queen's Proclamation being printed. This caused



Queenston with the first Monument. The Picture believed to have been taken in 1832



FORT GARRY GATE

a little excitement among the loyal inhabitants of the town, but was much approved and applauded by the ——— and disaffected inhabitants and residents. (Weather clear and frosty, but pleasant for outdoor exercise.)

Dec. 1st—Rumor of yesterday that the Queen's Proclamation had arrived in the town of Winnipeg was incorrect; still there was cause for such rumors being out, as it was currently circulated throughout the Settlement that the Queen's Proclamation would be brought in and made public the 1st of Dec. Those reports, though disbelieved by a number of persons, contained more truth than was at first supposed, for it was reported on good authority that Col. Dennis had arrived with the Queen's Proclamation and passed through the town about midnight without being detected by the ——— patrol, on his way to the Stone Fort or Lower Fort Garry. Considerable excitement was manifest in the ——— camp on the above report being known. The report was confirmed between twelve and one o'clock P. M. by the appearance of "Copy of the Queen's Proclamation" tacked upon the outside door of Dr. Schultz's drug store, which, on being generally known, was hailed with great enthusiasm by all the loyal male inhabitants and Canadians in the Settlement — but especially so it was a source of much gratification to the Canadians, for until now we could not legally take any active measures to settle the difficulty with the French; but now we could confront our opponents with right on our side. The publicity of the Queen's Proclamation was received with much chagrin by the ——— and sympathizers, who, from their remarks, appeared to be much crestfallen and despondent as to the success of their undertaking, which many had foolishly been led or persuaded to embark in. Of all the native inhabitants or old settlers there are but few who have come out and showed themselves in favor of the Canadian government, the majority of whom profess the greatest indifference as to whether the Canadian or any other government took possession of the Territory. This feeling of indifference I believe has been caused by the rule of the Hudson Bay Government, who have kept the people of this country down with the iron heel of oppression and who (that is the H.B.C.) did not permit the people to have a voice in any thing that was for the public good. How much the people whom Lord Selkirk brought out to this country to settle, along with those

who have since come up to the present date,, have suffered from the marked injustice and the tyrannical rule of the H.B.C. government in the country will never be known. The most prominent among the native inhabitants who have proved themselves truly loyal to Canadian interests and government and have done all in their power to have the same established in this country are Mr. William Hallett, Mr. John Hallett and Mr. George Clyne. These are the men who, if spared and justice is done them, will be loved and honored in the future of this country and Canada by all loyal Canadians and Britons, while those who occupy prominent positions in the so-called Provisional Government established by the ———, also the sympathizers of the same, will be looked upon with the utmost contempt. (The weather beautiful today, with a bracing frost.)

Dec. 2nd, 1869—Everything appears quiet in the ——— lines this morning. Dr. Lynch arrived from the Stone Fort or Lower Fort Garry, empowered with authority from Col. Dennis to enlist volunteers to support the Canadian Government. All loyal Canadians and Canadian sympathizers received orders this evening to meet at Col. Dennis' office at eleven o'clock p. m. to proceed in sleighs to the Stone Fort to enlist and remain there until Col. Dennis had all his plans of operations matured.. At half past ten o'clock one of our room mates, for there were eight Canadians boarding at this hotel, went out to ascertain if the sleighs were at the office ready to proceed to the Fort, twenty miles distant. On our mate returning he informed us that the hour had been changed to 12 p. m.; but another of our room mates going to the office at half past eleven, whence he immediately returned with the mortifying intelligence that all the Canadians had left the town at the first named hour. Who to blame for this stupid blunder we did not know, whether it was caused by the man at Col. Dennis' office not knowing the correct hour we were to start at or whether it was our roommate that misunderstood the man he spoke to, but this much we did know that some person had blundered. In the present condition of affairs we could do nothing more than patiently wait till daylight and see if any explanation could be obtained of the blunder. So we all decided to retire to rest, but had not been long in bed when someone who had not gone to sleep heard a noise of men running past the building, and jumping

out of bed and going to the windows saw fifteen or twenty ————coming out of the building called the Ganet House, and ran past the back of the hotel we were in. This move on the part of the ———— we could not understand, as the house they came out of was that of a Canadian who was considered loyal to the Canadian Government. Some thought that Riel had heard of the movement on the part of the Canadians and that he had his men out to seize and make prisoners of all the Canadians he could find that night in town. We all became determined that if they made a raid on us we would make a desperate resistance before we would yield and, if necessary, to sell our lives as dearly as possible. After remaining up a short time to see if any attempt would be made on us, and all appearing to be quiet outside, we again returned to rest. (Note—I omitted to say that while writing down the events of yesterday that Dr. Bowen set the type and tried and tried to print some copies of the Queen's Proclamation, but as soon as they were printed it is reported that Riel, or the guard that he had placed in the office, seized and destroyed them.

Dec. 3d—On again retiring to bed after being disturbed by the noise at one o'clock a. m., we slept comfortably till daylight. After breakfast we received instructions from Col. Dennis' office to go to the Scotch Settlement, hire horses and sleighs and thence proceed to the Stone Fort. Walked about three miles from the town before we could get a sufficient number of horses and sleighs to take us, eight in number, down. . On our way thither we met the Canadians who went down last night returning to town after having enlisted as volunteers under Col. Dennis, by whom they were ordered to return to their different places of abode and there quietly remain until further orders, or if they suffered any inconvenience or annoyance at the hands of the people in town or at their boarding places, they were all to assemble in Dr. Schultz's houses, which the doctor had that morning tendered the use of the same to Col. Dennis. On arriving at the Fort we enlisted in No. 1 Winnipeg Company of Volunteers, under Col. Dennis' directions. After being enrolled we also were ordered to return to the town and conduct ourselves by the orders given the others, which we did early in the afternoon. Before we left the Fort Dr. Bowen, editor of the *Nor Wester*, arrived, having made his escape from the town through the

assistance of some of his friends, one of whom, Mr. Vicary, (indistinct) brought him down to the Fort in a cutter. It was on Dr. Bowen's arrival that we obtained correct information with regard to the strange movement of the ——— last night that G. G. and his ——— were searching for Dr. Bowen and Dr. Schultz to capture them and make them prisoners. Not finding either of them at their homes, they searched all the houses in the town in which they supposed they were concealed, but were disappointed in securing their prey, for Dr. Schultz was fortunately at the Fort last night while Dr. Bowen was somewhere about town and happened to call at Col. Dennis' office on his way homeward and was told by the person in charge that a number of men had been there only a few moments before inquiring for him, with the intention, they thought, of capturing and making him a prisoner. The reason of this movement on the part of X. was caused by an angry discussion that the Dr. and X. had early in the evening in Col. Dennis' office with regard to printing the Queen's proclamation. X. forbade the doctor to print it. He said that he would print it if asked by the government officials to do so.

Dr. Bowen was at Col. Dennis' office all the evening of the 3d instant. When — called the second time he was sitting in — kitchen. On — leaving some of the men advised Dr. Bowen to go upstairs and remain in private apartments in case — called again, which the Dr. did. Was not long there when — came back a third time and walked straight through the office into the kitchen, which he searched. Not finding the doctor, they heard his men went upstairs into M. place. But during the time — was searching in the kitchen the Dr. had climbed over a partition which did not quite reach to the ceiling between M. and Lansen's Photograph Saloon and concealed himself by lying close to the partition he had climbed over. He had just time to do so when V. made his appearance upstairs and after a thorough search of the room left it, as supposed, satisfied that the man they wanted was not within their reach in that building. I presume the thought that so little a man as the Dr. could climb so high a partition never entered the cranium of the immortal —, but so it was, for while — was eagerly hunting, his prey was lying quietly behind an inch board partition. The Dr. remained quiet in his hiding place until early this forenoon, when he and C. were driven down to the Stone Fort by —.

On returning to town about six p. m. we found all our friends whom we met in the morning had assembled in the Dr.'s dwelling house and a new brick house of Dr. Schultz's for the purpose of defending the Government stores, it being reported that the ——— were receiving reinforcements and were going to make a raid on them. We were posted in different parts of the buildings, with a sentry on the outside of each building, also a sentry on the inside of the main entrance of each. We were under arms all night. The ——— were out in considerable numbers between the Fort and the town. They formed in skirmishing line two or three times during the night before the buildings. A party of about fifteen presented their guns at the windows as if going to fire, but did not do so, and after a short time moved on. Two cases of small arms were brought up here last night, to be distributed to the men that had none.

4th Dec—All quiet this morning. Not many ——— out. Went to Settlement to report the doings of the night. Having done so, returned and found quite a number of ——— in and about the town. Returned to my boarding house. Spent the afternoon in arranging private affairs. Paid my board bill at six o'clock, after which I went with the rest of the Canadian boarders to our barracks, as we called Dr. Schultz's building, where we met Major Boulton, who, as soon as the Canadians had assembled, commenced and organized us into a company to be called No. 1 Company of Winnipeg Volunteers. Officers were proposed and elected, after which a guard was selected for the night and sentries posted. Nothing of interest occurred till about one o'clock a. m., when one of our scouts came in and reported that there was considerable excitement and stir among the ——— in the Fort. He could not get near enough to the Fort to see what they were doing, but from what he could see they appeared to be either preparing for an anticipated attack to be made on them or were preparing to evacuate the Fort. About five o'clock p. m. lighted torches and lanterns suddenly appeared some distance from the town on the plain and to move in a circle from south to west and from east to north. This strange movement we could not understand, unless it was that they had received considerable reinforcements during the night and had surrounded us and were going to make a simultaneous attack, the light being a sign for a general move. As

soon as the sentry outside saw the light he reported to the officer on guard, and it was told the officer in command, who immediately took precautionary measures to guard against a sudden attack. What gave more strength to this suspicion is that when the Indians make any great attack they always do it a little while before daybreak. They (the Indians) say that people sleep sounder or heavier at that time of night. After keeping a diligent watch till daylight nothing unusual occurred nor could any information be had of the mysterious lights. The ——— have not evacuated the Fort, as it was supposed they were doing, but few are seen outside this morning.

5th Dec.—Everything is, to all appearance, quiet outside, and the people are wending their way to the different churches, but we have received orders to remain within barracks under arms, in case an attack should be made on the stores while at church. This is the first Sunday in my life that I have been under military discipline, and it gives me a strange though not unpleasant feeling. The cause of the strange part of my feelings is not being accustomed to military duties, and the true cause of the pleasure arises from a sincere love and attachment to Queen and country and a consciousness of being engaged on the side of right and justice. Considerable stir among the ———. After vespers this afternoon they appear to have received large reinforcements during the day. There are a number out parading between the Fort and town, also a large number staying outside the walls of the Fort. Judging from what I have seen there must be between two and three hundred men stationed in the town and Fort. They are increasing in numbers and it is reported on good authority that — is pressing every available French Halfbreed, man and boy, that is able to carry a gun into the ranks, using very serious threats that if they did not do so their houses and outbuildings would be burnt to the ground. This threat has had the effect of frightening many to join him that would not otherwise have done so; but there are a few, to their credit, who would not join him on any condition or under any circumstances. Received another case of small arms from the Stone Fort this evening. It was brought through the town with considerable risk of being captured by the ———, but courage and decision overcomes many dangers, and as G. M. is endowed with a large portion

of each he succeeded in bringing them safely into barracks, notwithstanding his having to pass through a strong guard of ——— stationed on a bridge about a quarter of a mile northwest of the town; also eluded the patrol of the same, although he was pursued by one of them, who, though M. drove his horse as fast as it could gallop the French halfbreed kept even with him until he turned into the yard, when he gave up the chase and returned to his comrades. It is said, and on good authority, that many of these people run behind their dog sleighs a distance from sixty to eighty miles a day and keep it up for many days together. All ordered under arms again, with strict instructions to keep a vigilant watch so as to guard against a surprise. The ——— were out in much larger force than they have ever been yet. They were also more daring and came closer up to the buildings, which they did not do the first two nights, for they kept to the opposite side of the street, and most of them, whenever they came near the buildings, used to run past. ,

Dec. 6th—Hemmed in on all sides by ——— all communication was cut off from the outside. Money, water and provisions played out. After twelve a. m. ——— placed a strong guard around the buildings. All quiet during the night, with no further evidence of an attack. Boulton and Hallett left on horseback. Left orders to retreat to K. D. C. in afternoon, but could not do so. Meade came in with the mails, but was not permitted to leave. Hallett's little boy came down on horseback, it is supposed with a dispatch from Major Boulton, was captured and carried off to the Fort a prisoner, but was set at liberty again in the afternoon. Particulars not known.

7th Dec.—All quiet during the night. All the men enjoyed a good rest. Every evidence of an attack being made this morning. Dutch George came in to take the women and children out. Gingers came in pretending to be a friend,, but was known to be a spy and was not permitted to see anything that would be of advantage to the ———. Develin also came in. He also was mistrusted, but had an interview with Dr. Schultz and advised a retreat. This was looked upon as a trap to get us to leave the house so that the ——— would have a better chance of capturing us. A despatch was brought in by Mrs. Black from Col Dennis ordering us to surrender and make the best terms we could. Said he had been out all night in the Scotch Settlement to get men to come

to our relief, but out of six hundred men was surprised on reaching the Fort to find none. — and McArthur were sent to Riel to get permission to retire with our arms; — being the one selected to negotiate, the result being most disastrous to us, — having agreed to an unconditional surrender, with the stipulation that our lives be spared, without asking McArthur's opinion. We were marched between two files of ——— with fixed bayonets to the Fort and confined in one of the buildings, after which a salute was fired. We were fed on pemican and water. Tonight Develin and Dutch George, a suspected ——— brought in food. A large number refused it; others did take it. Spent the greater part of the night singing songs. Fifty-six confined in three rooms. Twenty-two in one, ten by twenty feet; 23 in No. 2, 10 x 14 feet; seven in one bed, two under the bed, one on a table 2x4, two under it; 11 in No. 3.

8th—Still in the Fort. A report is circulated that we are to be marched across the lines to Pembina. Develin and Dutch George brought more pemican this morning.

9th—Still in the building; Pemican and tea today. Develin and Dutch George did not come with provisions today. Supposed to be because some of the men refused to accept them. Snow's men were captured today and put in with us. Archdeacon McLean paid us a visit and prayed with us. Were all moved from the one room to another and searched to see if we had any concealed arms about us. They got three revolvers. Provisions brought by Crossen.

10th—On the 10th Dennis issued a proclamation ordering all parties to lay down their arms (Riel included). It was not listened to by Riel's party. The ——— hoisted their flag, gave three cheers, fired a salute with small arms and cannon. St. Boniface brass band present, under the leadership of a priest. Among the French I noticed Tait, Ballantyne, Develin.

11th—Thirty-eight of us were moved out of the building in the Fort under a strong guard to the common jail outside the Fort. The jail is a building twenty feet square, with a centre room ten by twenty, with one window two feet square with heavy iron gratings, with a single stove and two benches each twelve feet long. Six cells, each 6x9, with a small window in each 6x18 inches. Broke all the glass out of the cell windows to get air, not knowing at the time that they were movable.

12th—First Sunday in prison. Mr. George Young visited us this morning. Read a chapter in the Bible, prayed with us, distributed a Bible, Testament and tracts. Twelve of us met in one of the cells shortly after Mr. Young left and had a prayer meeting.

13th—Mr. Young visited us again early this forenoon and brought us some apples, which was quite a treat and all appreciated Mr. Young's kindness. A report came in today to the effect that Col. Dennis had left the Settlement and that the Hon. W. McDougal was preparing to return to Canada in a few days. Riel called and left some Canadian papers, all of which were opened and examined.

14th—All quiet. Plenty of provisions furnished by Mr. Crossen, and all well.

15th—Received another visit from Mr. Young. All well.

16th—Received another visit from Archdeacon McLean. C. Mair and George Fortney had an interview with Riel. Its object was to find out the general feeling we had towards him. The inmates of each cell were presented with a box of figs by Mr. ———.

17th—The ——— held a council but could do nothing in our case until the Governor left Pembina.

18th—Mr. Young visited us again. O'Donoghue, one of the principal ———, brought in some Canadian papers of late dates, and all had been examined.

19th—Held a prayer meeting this morning. None of the clergy visited us today.

20th—All quiet. Hear of nothing of interest.

21st—Mrs. W^t Driever sent in some tarts and pies.

22d—Mr. Crossen brought in cakes and pies from Mrs. Driever and Mrs. Crossen. They were received with three cheers.

23d—Received another present of cakes and pies from Mrs. Driever. Raised a present of five shillings each, which amounted to nine pounds and ten shillings and was presented by — Millar as a Christmas gift with an appropriate speech. Crossen was not allowed to come inside, but came to the door and replied, and we gave him three cheers.

24th—Day before Christmas. Expected to be released today, but was disappointed. Smith sent out for a fiddle and had a stag dance, Wm. Graham being the fiddler. The guards came in and joined in the dance.

25th.—Christmas day. Very dull until towards evening when Crossen brought in roast beef, plum pudding and cakes from McArthur and Mrs. Driever. We enjoyed them as well as we could under present circumstances. Had a dance this evening.

26th.—Sunday. Rev. Mr. Young visited us, read and prayed. We had another prayer meeting in one of the cells. Reports come in of a peace delegation from Canada consisting of G. F. Tibault, Col De Salaberry, D. C. Smith of England to assist Gov. McTavish enforcing the laws of the company and in case of his demise to assist him.

27th.—Report of a grand meeting of the clergy of Rupert's Land to be held at Fort Garry. Have not heard the result, but that there were to be different degrees of punishment inflicted on the prisoners. No hopes of getting out.

28th.—Mrs. C. Mair is again allowed to visit her husband. Report among the guards that an escape was meditated. Further evidence that a spy was among us. Reduced to pemican and water in the morning. About fifteen pounds of flour, a little tea and plenty of pemican was sent in this afternoon. Every person cooks his own meals.

29th.—All quiet. Archdeacon McLean again visited us and said that he had asked permission to read a chapter in the Bible but was refused.

30th.—Mr. W. Fletcher visited us, had prayer and was permitted to say a few words. Appeared much affected. Crossen stopped bringing provisions. Develin takes his place of his own accord.

31st.—Day before New Year's. Report that a great number of Scouts were coming to Fort Garry; object unknown. Considerable alarm among the French. Spent New Year's eve in singing songs, stag dancing and so forth. At twelve o'clock we all joined in singing God Save the Queen, after which we gave three rousing cheers. Six men were taken out and examined, after which they were placed upstairs and not allowed to have intercourse with us.

1870.

Jan. 1st.—New Year's spent quietly, with some dancing and singing. Mrs. Crossen sent in some cakes and mince pies. ——— Escaped last night from upstairs.

2d.—Sunday. Mr. Young visited us. Read and prayed. We held a prayer meeting in one of the cells. Mr. Johnston

brought us some bread, meat and potatoes, which were very acceptable and appreciated.

3d—A heavy guard from White Horse Plains was placed over us. Report that we are to be sent over the lines tomorrow; not credited. The placing of the guard is unfavorable.

4th—This morning the examination of the prisoners taken out of here was finished. Nine were liberated on the following conditions: Some took the oath of allegiance, others an oath to leave the country and not return in arms against them. The oath of allegiance was that they should obey the laws of the Provisional Government as long as they were in the country. Jeffrey, Spicer, McLeod and Mercer took the oath of allegiance. Brandon, Hall, Otterwell, Holland, Latterman agreed to leave the country.

5th—All quiet. No more of us called out for examination. The guards are extremely lenient today and have proved themselves the best men we have had over us. Archdeacon McLean visited us today. Wished to speak to us, but not allowed to do so by one of the guards named Turner. One of our number was told by one of the guards that we were all to be liberated unconditionally tomorrow; that yesterday it was to have been, but Riel thought it was too cold to turn us out. This is looked upon as a canard. Received news from outside from rather reliable authorities that troops have left Canada for here and are coming by way of Lake Superior and Fort William.

6th—The guard still gaining favor for their kindness to us. Otterwell and Holland took the oath of allegiance this morning. Received information this morning through Mr. Mc —, from his cousin, Miss M. V., as to what is going on outside and the feeling to us. All kinds of business is at a standstill. The people in the Settlements (cowardly dastards that they are) are so frightened that they will not leave their homes unless compelled through sheer necessity to do so. A proof that the above is correct is that those who own threshing machines and were threshing before our surrender from farm to farm only a distance of a few rods from each other, will not now move their machines to another place for fear they will be taken prisoners. They are our bitterest enemies and condemn the Canadian Government now for taking possession of this territory, although they at first agreed to it, for fear of the Canadians here, about sixty all told, although

there are several thousands of them, they would not openly express their opinions for fear of a mere handful of Canadians. James Ross, a prominent Scotch halfbreed, has taken the oath of allegiance to Riel's government. Major Boulton, it is said, is still in the settlement, and he and W. Hallet on the 5th Dec. left barracks together on horseback to attend a meeting in St. James' parish, passing through the French skirmishing line without any attempt being made to capture them. It is also said that he tried many times that evening to join us, but found he could not do so; hoping by staying out to be able to do something for us, but these efforts were futile. It is reported that a newspaper is to be issued tomorrow, under the supervision of the Provis. Govt, and is to be called the "New Nation." It will in all probability be a one-sided affair and not likely to be very truthful in its statements. Mr. Ashdown, one of our number, was called out by Riel and asked if he would do a small piece of work. (He is a tinsmith.) He studied a little while before consenting, but said the key of his shop was down in the Scotch Settlement. So Riel sent a man with him to get it. Mr. A.'s object was to try to get some information and get some letters and Canadian papers, but as Riel was there did not succeed in getting papers, but hopes to do so tomorrow. However he obtained a Toronto Weekly Telegraph of late date, but it had nothing of interest on our present situation. Commenced to write a letter to my brother George and will risk posting it.

7th—Had not finished it when the guard called Mr. Ashdown to go to town. I hastily folded and addressed it, giving it to Ashdown to post for me. He returned about half past three, bringing several Canadian letters and papers, among them two or three copies of the looked for local paper, the New Nation, which is a neatly gotten up sheet, considering who did it. Editorials, as expected, one-sided; articles containing gross falsehoods and misrepresentations, quoting from Canadian papers but altering the articles to suit themselves. Those brought by Ashdown gave great pleasure. I was one of the fortunate ones, as there was a letter from my brother George in Toronto, both interesting and satisfactory. It was written 30th November and mailed 2d December. Mr. Ashdown brought in a basket of cakes from Mrs. Young, which was very acceptable and proves they have not forgotten us in our misfortunes. The weather has been clear and

frosty, but not colder than I have experienced at this season in Canada.

8th—Another report of the guards that we are to be liberated tomorrow, but in this we place no confidence, as we have been told so so often. Yesterday another present came from Mr. McM., our liberated companion, viz., a large package of candy, a set of dominoes, a package of cards, sugar-coated almond nuts, etc. We hear that some of those who enlisted under Col. Dennis say they did not enlist to fight the French but to receive the six shillings a day which was promised them. How does a man who is true to his country loathe and abhor such men as those who will stoop to such contemptible conduct to gain a little lucre?"

„9th—Sunday morning, being the fourth we have spent in prison, with no knowledge of how many more we may have to spend here. Mr. Young called about half past nine o'clock a. m. Only a few of us were up to join Mr. Young in reading a chapter and prayer. Several met in one of the cells to hold a prayer meeting, but I did not join on account of most of those who did so not acting consistent either before or after the meeting; many would engage in frivolous and even immoral conversation. Such a way of acting I thought to be exceedingly wrong for those who openly professed to be leading a sincere Christian life. Another story of the guards that we were to be free tomorrow and that they were all going home, but this we accepted for what it was worth. Everything appears very dull to those who were not in the secret of our intended escape tonight, if at all possible, for some of us had been working for some time back trying to cut out with our jackknives the oak casing of two of the cell windows, situated the one in the back and the other in the front of the building, so as to enable us to get out the heavy iron grating without making a noise to alarm the guards. The cutting away of the window frames would not have taken the one-twentieth of the time that it did had we been all true to each other, but we were not, for we had a spy among us, won over by Riel by a large sum of money, it is surmised, to watch us. The consequence was we had to keep a strict watch on him, for he was continually on the move from one cell to another night and day. We seldom, without being interrupted, got more than two minutes at a time to work at it. Again, there were also some in the cell in which we wanted to work who were opposed to our attempt. When I say our, I mean that, there

were eight or ten out of the twenty-eight who knew anything about what was going on, and it was some belonging to those cells who opposed, when mentioned, our attempt to try and remove the iron grate or bars from the window so as to be able to make our escape when a favorable opportunity occurred. We met with so much opposition from the inmates of the cell that we had to suspend operations for about two weeks, at the end of which time we again commenced work, but only when we got those opposed to our plan engaged with some person or other. With so many drawbacks to contend against, it was utterly impossible to be expeditious. Early last week those in the cell who worked in unison and had only the spy to watch succeeded in removing the iron bars without being detected and were waiting until we succeeded in removing ours when we would decide to make a break, but up to Saturday night we were unable to get sufficient time to cut it out, so we decided to leave it till Sunday, when we could again work at it. Our plan was to have a window taken out of the front and back of the building, the object of which was that if the sentry on one side of the building was removed we could make our escape even if there was one stationed at the other, or if the captain of the guard should, after twelve p. m., call in all the sentries, as he sometimes did when it was very cold, we could then use both windows to facilitate our escape. On Sunday night about eleven p. m. some of the inmates of the cell who had succeeded in removing the iron bars or grating from their window in the front, secretly made known to three or four in another cell their intention to regain their liberty. Their plan was this. They were going to watch the sentry from the window on the front. When the time arrived to change sentry, which was done every hour in cold and every two hours on mild nights by the sentry on duty leaving his post, go into the guard room, wake up, if he should be asleep, the man whose duty it was to relieve him, and send him out to take his place on sentry go (a rather careless way of carrying out military discipline). Our prison mates had not long taken station at the window when they, to their satisfaction, saw the sentry leave his beat and go into the guard house, and before another came out to take his place four of our mates succeeded in getting out of the window and through the palisade without being detected. The last of the four had only passed through the gate of the palisade when the sentry came out and took his place, there-

by preventing any more from escaping for the present. Three or four of us remained in the cell waiting for the hour to expire when the sentry would retire and send out another man to take his place. But judge of our surprise when we saw another sentry come out and join the one already on duty, at the same time keeping a close watch on the window of the cell we were in. We at once supposed that the first sentry had heard some of us whispering in the cell and thinking perhaps all was not right inside called another man to keep sentry with him. Seeing that it was too much of a risk in waiting any longer at that window, we concluded to try and remove the back window at which we had before been working and make our escape through it. Knowing that we would have to make considerable noise at our work, we thought it advisable to inform our Yankee spy what we contemplated doing, saying that if he wished he was at liberty to make his escape with us, but before we told him what we intended to do we first waited till the guard on the entrance door had locked it for the night. After that was done we placed a sentry at each of the cell windows to prevent his communicating with the sentries outside; three or four others kept a watch on him in the passage, and if he attempted to alarm the guard they intended to throw him down, gag, tie and place him one of the cells and cover him over with a buffalo robe. He seemed quite surprised at our doing so much without his knowing about it. We then turned out attention 'o the back window. On working on it a short time with our jackknives we found it was going to take too long to remove the bars, so we decided to try and remove the whole frame by wrenching it out with an iron bar we had some time previously broken off one of the cell windows. Three at once volunteered to try it, but before they began it was thought to be a good idea to get up a big game of "pile on," so that while the frame was being wrenched out we could shout, squeal, yell, halloo and make a tremendous noise so as to smother as much as possible the sound of wrenching the frame out. In this we were successful, for the frame and the iron bars were removed without alarming either the sentries in the front of the building or the guard inside. The person selected to "pile on" to was Joseph Coombs, a man over six feet in height. Poor fellow! He will remember that game of "pile on" as long as he lives if he has the use of memory. Parker was the first to get out of the window in the back of

the building, Scott second, Woodington third, McVicar fourth. Who came next to McVicar I don't know, for as each one got out of the window we made for the palisade, ten feet high, which for a distance of about ten yards from the building surrounds the jail; which palisade we clambered over as hastily as possible. It was not so easy to get over as we in the jail imagined it to be.

As soon as I was over the palisade, Scott and I, according to a prior arrangement, started on a brisk run for the residence of a Canadian of the name of A. Boyd, living ten miles up the Assineboine in the parish of Headingly, who I knew from previous acts of kindness shewn me would certainly do all that lay in his power to befriend us in our flight from bondage. On making for the road from the jail we encountered some deep drifts of snow, running through which fatigued us not a little, as the close confinement we had been subjected to had weakened us very much for such exercise, but notwithstanding our weakness I would like very much to have seen the length of the strides Scott and I made in that deep snow, for I am sure they must have been longer than the strides people usually make in moving through deep snow. Before getting to the road Scott and I noticed a person a short distance from us going the same way, and there not being sufficient light for us to distinguish whether it was one of our escaped companions or a stranger, we decided to overtake him and see who he really was, for we both thought it was a French halfbreed who had been down seeing one of his friends among the guards and was returning home. We determined that if he had been to see the guards that we would knock him senseless and leave him on the road to prevent his giving any alarm, but on coming up to him we found him to be our companion Parker. We three then proceeded together on our way to Headingly, for Parker was also making for a friend's home. On our way we called about two and a half miles from the Fort at William Hallett's home, the home of a truly loyal native, both to the Imperial and Canadian governments, and who is still a prisoner, with about twenty others, within the Fort, to see if the four who escaped by the front window were there or had been there, also to try to get a horse and sleigh to take us to the portage. John Hallett, (William's son) informed us that two had been there and got a horse each and started for the portage on horseback. Knowing that there were no more horses there

available we continued on our way to Headingly. After leaving Hallett's an idea struck us that if we could get into some of the stables along the road we could get a horse each. Parker was not particular about getting a horse, as he had made up his mind to stop a few days with his friend at Headingly. By the time we reached Sturgeon Creek, Scott and I were so fatigued and footsore from walking and running that we came to the conclusion to go no farther without trying to get a couple of horses, so we decided to make a raid on James M stables, for I was aware he had a number of horses; and if the doors were not locked we would have but little trouble in selecting each a horse. No sooner was the suggestion made than it was acted upon. Parker consented to keep strict watch outside and open the gate while Scott and I went to the stable the doors of which were not locked, but only latched. After getting inside we were not long in choosing our horses; but looking for bridles, there were none to be found, as most of the people in this country keep their harness in their dwelling houses. Here then was a difficulty not easy to overcome. The horses have no halter on, but simply tied round with a piece of rawhide and the other end fastened to the stall. On talking it over for a minute or two what we had best do, we concluded to try and drive them out with the rawhide reins by making a noose and placing it on or around their noses in such a way that if we could not guide or control them as we would wish we could hold them so as to prevent their running away with us. On leading the horses out of the stable one of those within commenced neighing, which was immediately answered by one of ours, which alarmed us not a little, for we feared this would waken the people in the house close by. When we got them to the road I helped Scott to mount his horse, and when I was trying to get on mine Scott's started off, but did not go very far when it ran off the road in a deep ditch or snowdrift, stumbled and pitched him headforemost into the snow, and for a few seconds there was only Scott's legs to be seen above the snow. Just imagine the sight. Scott is over six feet in height, with a short body and very long legs, sticking in the snow, with his legs almost straight up in the air. It immediately brought to my mind the comparison Kitson gave in jail. He said Scott was like two straight poles stuck in a mud hill. What drew forth this remark was that Scott had been teasing Kitson

nearly all morning for frying and eating so much pemican, for, by the way, he was a great pemican eater.. Scott called him little pemican, as he was a small man. But to return to our flight. It was also amusing to see how quick Scott regained his right side up, but in doing so the horse got away. He tried to catch him but could not, so I let mine go, too, for even if I could have driven her, which was very doubtful with that gear, I did not wish to leave Scott behind, so after enjoying a hearty laugh at his expense (oh, I would have given something when I saw him get up to have been in a place where I could have laughed as hearty and as long as I felt like doing.) As it was, I was checked by Scott for laughing for fear I would wake the people up. When Parker saw us come out he started ahead, thereby missing this scene. We again commenced our walk to Headingly, losing considerable time in our attempt to get horses. After we had walked about three and a half miles from James Mc—— we in some way got off the road and were unable to find it; waded in through the snow, sometimes encountering great drifts, which exhausted us not a little. We still traveled on, till we came to some woods, which we entered by a cattle track, but soon I saw it was not the same woods we had been through two months before, between Sturgeon Creek and my friend's home. We met nothing that I could recognize, so I said to Scott that I did not know where we were and perhaps unknowingly had passed our friend's home. Scott, being much fatigued, suggested that we make a fire and remain in the woods until daylight. This I objected to, as it might prove fatal to our escape if the guard were following us, and if so the smoke from the fire would act as a guide to them. If we had been in any other position than fleeing as refugees we could have soon ascertained where we were by inquiry at some of the houses close by; but in our position we did not know who were friends or who were foes.

Here the Diary breaks off abruptly, but on another page is found the following:

"Escaped from Fort Garry with eleven other prisoners on the night of the 9th of January, 1870. Five of the above prisoners were retaken the next day, one of whom was badly frozen when captured. Arrived at Portage la Prairie on 15th

January,, 1870. (Seventy-five miles from Fort Garry).

Retaken and made prisoner, along with forty-eight British Loyalists on the morning of the 17th February, 1870, by Riel, O Donoghue, Lepine and their associates."

On separate pages, evidently written to complete the story of the imprisonment, the full list of names of the prisoners, and where from, a list of the games played in the jail, a description of the flag of the Provisional Government, jail scenes and a newspaper cutting, much frayed, has been placed in the diary. This also closes abruptly, being torn off. It reads as follows:

THE EXECUTION OF SCOTT.

(From the Winnipeg New Nation, March 4th.)

"The first military execution ever witnessed in Rupert's Land, we believe, took place in Fort Garry on the 4th inst. The person shot was Private T. Scott, who came here from Canada last summer. His execution took place upon an order of a court-martial held at Fort Garry on the 3d inst. Mr. Scott, it will be in the recollection of many, was among the Canadians captured in Dr. Schultz's store on the 7th December last. He lay in confinement at the fort with other prisoners some weeks and then, accompanied by several others, made good his escape from the Fort on a fearfully cold night.

"Immediately before the close of the last Convention, Mr. Scott, who had fled to the Portage, came down with the others from that locality to liberate the prisoners. Subsequently, as is well known, the Portage movement assumed a very serious aspect, and the capturing of the Fort and the overturning of the Government was aimed at. But this was abandoned and Mr. Scott was again captured with the Portage Brigade on the morning of the 7th ult. From this time forth Mr. Scott was very violent and abusive in his actions and language, annoying and insulting the guards and even abusing the President. He vowed that if ever he got out he would shoot the President. ——— stated that he was at the head of the Portage party" (Here torn away.)

GAMES.

Chess, cards checkers and "pile on." This last is the favorite and oft-occurring game. It begins with one catching

hold of another and throwing him down or against the wall, yelling "pile on." Then there is a general rush to the scene, and pity the poor fellow that gets under. The most exciting and amusing one occurred on the 1st inst. It began by a discussion about the Irish and the Scotch, and an attempt was made by one side to expel the other.

Description of the Provisional Government's Flag.

It is made of white Duffle, 2x3 feet in size. There are three fleur de luce or flower of France ——— across the surface with a shamrock in the centre of the bottom edge..

JAIL SCENES.

Frying pemican. A number around the stove, with tin plates, in which is a mixture of pemican and water, each striving for a place at the stove; a number more waiting their time, cursing their luck that they were too late; a number more with large pocket knives gathered round a large lump of pemican, each striving to prepare his mess; a number more making tea in pint tins. Another scene—Mounting the large window in the centre room after the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon.

Names of Canadian and American prisoners confined in the common jail of Assiniboia by Riel and his associates on the 10th December, 1869:

Duncan N. Campbell, Chatham.
 William Spice, Fullerton.
 G. D. McVicar, Chatham.
 Joseph Coombs, London.
 A. R. Chisholm, Alexandria (Glengarry).
 George Fortney, Texas, U. S.
 Wm. Nemius, Elora.
 W. Davis, Durham.
 Mat Davis, Durham.
 John Morney, Mosnock.
 Peter McArthur, Toronto.
 F. C. Mercer, Caledonia.
 J. B. Harris, Stratford.
 Geo. Nicholson, Ottawa.
 Francis J. Manan, Guelph.
 John Eccles, St. Thomas.

James Dawson, Toronto.
 Jas. Develin, Durham.
 Dr. Lynch, Montreal
 Stewart Mulkins, Kingston.
 Hugh Wrightman, Barrie.
 Thomas Langman, Barrie.
 A. Wright Paisley.
 Jas. Stewart, Windsor.
 Alex. Murray, Dickinson Landing.
 Ja. Mulligan, Butts, Ireland.
 John Hallett, Red River.
 William Hallett, Red River.
 Charles Stodger, England.
 Donald Cameron, Ailsa Craig.
 Dr. O'Donnell, Montreal.
 Dr. Schultz, Amherstburg.
 Thos. Lusted, Windsor.
 Geo. Clyne, Boisbert, Red River.
 Wm. Kitson, Howard.
 W. J. Allen, Port Hope.
 Thos. W. Scott, Toronto.
 Chas. Palmer, London, Eng.
 F. Hyman, London, Ont.
 Geo. Miller, Shefford, Que.
 John Ivy, Texas, U. S.
 J. W. Archibald, Truro.
 J. Ferguson, Smith's Falls.
 Wm. Graham, Allanburg.
 Henry Woodington, Brampton.
 Jos. H. Stocks Stratford.
 Jas. H. Ashdown, Durham.
 James Robb, an American, escaped.
 Allen W. Graham, Alborough.
 Robert Smith, Winchester, Eng.
 C. Mair, Perth.
 Geo. Bootie, New Brunswick.
 Thos. Franklin, pensioner.

List of Snow's men of Point du Chien, captured by Riel after their arrival in town after the surrender of the Canadian Volunteers:

George Parker, Lanark.
 Geo. Brandon, Belgrave.

Philip Otwell, Owen Sound.
 Jas. Jeffrey, Middleton.
 Andrew Hall, Dunn (Haldimand).
 John Lattmore Arran (Bruce).
 Robt. Holland, Tudor (Hastings).
 John McLeod, Stornoway, Scotland.
 R. P. Meade, Windsor (Ed. Norwester).
 Chas. Garrett, Orillia.
 Arthur Hamilton, Ottawa.
 — Heath, Ottawa.

After the escape there is a break in the narrative, as there is nothing to show what occurred between escape and being retaken, but singularly enough, however, there has just appeared in an educational paper, "The School," an article on the Red River Rebellion by A. W. Graham, whose name we find in the list of prisoners. This hiatus is thus partially filled, and we find the names of several mentioned in the diary, among them that of J. Ashdown, who, Mr. Graham says, was his bedfellow and is now a millionaire in Winnipeg. He states that on Jan. 24th Dr. Schultz cut his robe into strips and let himself down from his window and thus escaped. Riel was very angry, as Dr. Schultz was his star prisoner. Hallett was handcuffed and several were to be shot. On Feb. 12th all were offered their liberty on taking the oath of allegiance, which several did, but fourteen refused and were placed in a room 8x12; fed with nothing but pemican and water. Meanwhile a force of fifty, chiefly those who had escaped, and 200 Indians, under Major Boulton and Dr. Schultz had come from the Portage to rescue the prisoners, but found that Riel had released them on parole on 15th February, on which the force disbanded, but most of them were again arrested. Riel now had full control the stores, the weapons, the money of the Hudson Bay Company; the Canadians either out on parole or prisoners. Major Boulton was also sentenced to death, but by the influence of D. A. Smith (afterwards Lord Strathcona), Rev. E. Young, Arch. McLean, he was spared. But no pleading availed for Scott. The writer (Mr. Graham) says he was in his company four weeks in prison. He was quiet, civil and gentlemanly; tall, straight, athletic, a fine specimen of young manhood, and about twenty-five years of age.

There is no reference in the diary of how long they were

in prison the second time. The report they had in January that a military force was fitting out in Ontario for their relief was premature, as not till the end of May did the force start, consisting of 1200 men, mostly volunteers, part of the 60th Reg. commanded by Col. Garnet Wolseley, picked men, none but the soundest and strongest. Many delays occurred; boats and waggons to be built, workmen hired, delays of all kinds, so that not till three months after did they reach Fort Garry, only to find Riel and his companions fled. This was one of the most remarkable military expeditions of which we have any record remarkable for its personnel, for the immense difficulties encountered, for the way in which these were met; chiefly remarkable that it was accomplished without the aid of liquor. Col. Wolseley, in his farewell address, gave the most unstinted praise to the force; recounts some of the difficulties of the last 400 miles, roads to make, no less than 49 portages, carrying their boats, stores, barrels of pork, flour, through rain, mud. Out of 94 days there was rain 45 days. All this work from daylight to dark, shared by officers and men willingly. The good conduct and good feeling shewn was remarkable. There had been no sickness or death. A very good account of the expedition was published by Capt. Huyshe on the staff, and another by Major Boulton.

The welcome given them on their return was most hearty. I can not refrain from quoting the inspiring lines written by Isabella Valencey Crawford, who is facile princeps our best Canadian poet, dying, alas! before she was so well appreciated as now. They appeared in the Toronto Telegram at the return (Alas! they did not all return) of the force in 1885 from the North West Rebellion, when it was proposed to give a grand dinner on their arrival. She pleads that they be allowed to first go to their homes and meet wives, children, sisters, mothers. These lines I cut out and saved long before the name of Isabella Valencey Crawford was much known. They do not appear in her published poems and express no doubt to us the feelings of pride in the return in 1870 as well as in 1885.

THE ROSE OF A NATION'S THANKS.

A welcome? O yes, 'tis a kindly word, but why will they plan and prate
Of feasting and speeches and such small things, while the wives and
mothers wait?

Plan as ye will, and do as ye will, but think of the hunger and thirst
In the hearts that wait, and do as ye will, but lend us our ladders first!
Why, what would ye have? There's not a lad who treads in the gal-
lant ranks

Who does not already bear on his breast the Rose of a Nation's Thanks,
A Welcome? Why what do you mean by that, when the very stones
must sing

As our men march on to their home again—the walls of the city ring
With the thunder of throats and the tramp and tread of feet that
rush and run—

I think in my heart that the very trees must shout for the bold work
done!

Why what would ye have? There's not a lad who treads in the gallant
ranks

Who does not already bear on his breast the Rose of a Nation's Thanks.
A welcome? There's not a babe at the breast won't spring at the roll
of the drum

That heralds them home—the keen long cry in the air of "They come!"
"They come!"

And what of it all if ye had them wade knee deep in a wave of wine—
And tossed tall torches and arched the town in garlands of maple and
pine!

All dust in the wind of a woman's cry as she snatches from the ranks
Her boy who wears on his bold young breast the Rose of a Nation's
thanks!

A welcome? There's a doubt if the lads would stand like stone in their
steady line

While a babe held high in a dear wife's hand; or the stars that swim
and shine

In a sweetheart's eyes or a mother's smile flashed far in a welded
crowd,

Or a father's proud voice, half sob and half cheer, cried on a son aloud.
O, the billows of waiting hearts that swelled would sweep from the
martial ranks

The gallant boys who wear on their breast the Rose of a Nation's
Thanks.

A welcome? O joy can they stay your feet or measure the wine of
your bliss!

O joy—let them leave you alone today—a day with a pulse like this!
A welcome? Yes, 'tis a tender thought—a green laurel that laps the
sword—

But joy has the wing of a wild white swan and the song of a free
wild bird.

She must beat the air with her wings at will—at will must her song
be driven

From her heaving heart and tremulous throat through the awful arch
of Heaven.

And what would ye have? There's not a lad will burst from the shout-
ing ranks

But bears like a star on his faded coat the Rose of a Nation's thanks.